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ABSTRACT

This issue of Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures contains the following articles: "Functions of Locatives in Northern Subanen Expository and Hortatory Discourse" (Josephine Sanicas-Daguman); "Functions of Demonstratives in Sama Bangingi' Expository Discourse" (John Blakely); "A Brief Look at Sinama Basic Verbs and Clause Structures" (Kristi Drake). (Contains 18 references.)

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Functions of Locatives in Northern Subanen Expository and Hortatory Discourse

Josephine Sanicas-Daguman

Translators Association of the Philippines, Inc.

1. Introduction

A notable feature of Northern Subanen¹ is the relative abundance of the use of locatives in the speech of native speakers. This study is an analysis of locatives in Northern Subanen with special focus on their functions in expository and hortatory discourse genre where the abundance of the use of locatives is most observable. The study is given in three parts. The first part presents Northern Subanen locatives and their primary meanings. The second part describes the syntactic constructions in which locatives occur. The third part discusses the discourse functions of locatives.

2. Northern Subanen locatives

Northern Subanen locatives form a person-oriented, six-term spatial deictic system (Anderson and Keenan, 1985), which is given in Table 1.

¹ There are approximately 20,000 speakers of Northern Subanen (or Northern Subaanən). The data on which this study is based were gathered between 1990-1995 while the author was living in Bgy. Bulawan, Katipunan, Zamboanga del Norte, Mindanao and interacting with Northern Subanen speakers in Dipolog City, Sergio Osmeña Sr., Roxas, Polanco, and Piñan, under the auspices of the Translators Association of the Philippines, Inc.

Several people have assisted the author in the study of the subject and the writing of this paper. Dr. Sherri Brainard conducted the Expository and Hortatory Discourse Workshop where the original findings of this paper were discovered and written up. The workshop was conducted in Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon from August to September, 1997. Miss Mercedes T. Cudas, a resident of Bgy. Bulawan, Katipunan, Zamboanga del Norte and a native speaker of Northern Subanen, came to the workshop with the author as language consultant. Miss Helen Madrid and Mrs. Bea Abadiano of the Translators Association of the Philippines, Inc. and Dr. William Hall and Mr. Charles Walton of the Summer Institute of Linguistics edited a later draft of this paper and gave many valuable suggestions.

The discourse materials which the author used in this study were expositions, advices, speeches, and sermons delivered by several Northern Subanen friends. Their names and the titles of the discourse materials they delivered are listed in Appendix A. The author is grateful to all of the above mentioned people for their counsel and technical assistance. Mistakes however are hers only.

Table 1. Northern Subanen locatives

dini?	'here'	near Sp*
diin	'there'	near Adr*
dii?	'there'	not too near Sp and Adr
dia?	'there'	not too far from Sp and Adr
ditu?	'there'	far from Sp and Adr
diitu?	'yonder'	very far from Sp and Adr

*Note: Sp (Speaker); Adr (Addressee)

The first term *dini?* specifies a location near the Speaker; the second term *diin* specifies a location near the Addressee. The four other terms *dii?*, *dia?*, *ditu?*, and *diitu?* specify locations increasingly far from both. Figure 1 presents their relative positions schematically.²

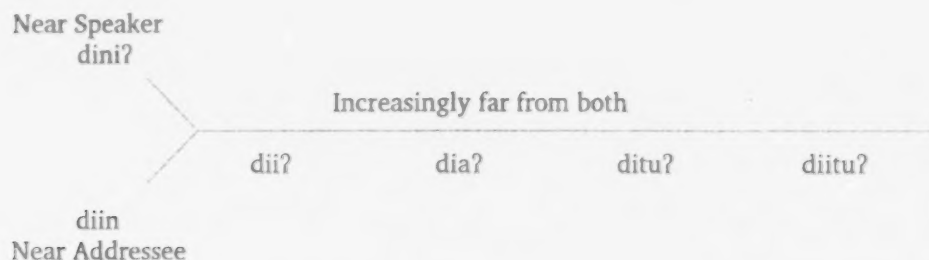


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the relative positions of Northern Subanen locatives

In addition, a distinction between specific location and general location is also possible. This distinction is signalled by the presence or absence of the glottal stop in the final position of locative terms, i.e. *dini?*/*dini* and *ditu?*/*ditu*. Since the final glottal is frequently lost in fast speech, the distinction between the pairs of terms is often blurred. Table 2 lists pairs of locative terms distinguishing specific and general locations that have been identified so far; sentences (1)–(4) illustrate their meaning.

Table 2. Locatives distinguishing specific locations and general locations

	Specific location	General location
Near Sp	dini?	dini
Far from Sp and Adr	ditu?	ditu

² The examples in this paper are given in phonemic script: a [a][a], b [b][β], k [k][q][k], d [d][ɾ], ə [ə][ə], g [g][ɣ], i [i][i], l [l], m [m], n [n], ŋ [ŋ][N], ʔ [ʔ], s [s], t [t], u [u][u], w [w], and y [j]. Exceptions to this are loan words from Cebuano or Spanish which retain *r* and *h* of the source language.

- (1) *Diniʔu* *pəktulugan* *sə* *gbanʔu?* *kəni.*
diniʔ-u *tulug-pəG--an* *sə* *G-banʔu?* *kəni*
 here-1S.ABS sleep-AG.HAB.IRR OBL SCM-bench this

'I habitually sleep here on this bench.'³

- (2) *Diniu* *pəktulugan* *sə* *gbalay* *kəni.*
dinu-u *tulug-pəG--an* *sə* *G-balay* *kəni*
 here-1S.ABS sleep-AG.HAB.IRR OBL SCM-house this

'I habitually sleep here in this house.'

- (3) *Su* *ktabuʔan* *ditu?* *dapit.*
su *G-tabuʔan* *ditu?* *dapit*
 ABS SCM-market there location

'The market is there (in that particular location).'

- (4) *Si* *ʔapa* *ditu* *sə* *ktabuʔan.*
si *ʔapa* *ditu* *sə* *G-tabuʔan*
 ABS father there OBL SCM-market

'Father is (somewhere) in the market.'

3. Syntactic constructions

Syntactically, Northern Subanen locatives occur as nonverbal predicates, deictic verbs, adverbs, locative phrases preceding locative oblique NPs, and directionals. Each of these occurrences will be discussed in turn.

3.1. Locative as nonverbal predicate

When a locative is a nonverbal predicate, it is always a bare root. It occurs in the sentence-initial position and is followed by the absolutive NP, as shown in (5) and (6). The absolutive NP functions as subject of the nonverbal sentence.

- (5) *Dini* *giin.*
 here 3S.ABS

'He is/was here.'

- (6) *Ditu?* *su* *gusəkilaan.*
 there ABS school

'The school is over there.'

³ In this study, semantic roles are analyzed following Scott DeLancy's (1984, 1985, 1991) restricted version of Localist Case Grammar. Loc (LOC) is a physical site or a state, i.e. a metaphorical location; Theme (TH) is an entity that changes location or state; and Agent (AG) is a primary cause of this change of location or state. This grammar was first used in the analysis of a Philippine language by Sherri Brainard (1994).

3.2. Locative as deictic verb

When a locative is a deictic verb that signals motion, it is affixed for semantic role and mode. In (7), the irrealis affix *mə-* cross-references the absolutive Theme in an intransitive clause and signals that the action has not yet occurred. In (8), the realis affix *pi-* cross-references the absolutive Theme in a transitive clause and signals that the action has already occurred. In (9), the irrealis affix *məkpəG-* cross-references the absolutive Theme in an intransitive clause and signals that the action is habitual. When the deictic verb is an imperative, however, it occurs as a bare root, as in (10).

- (7) *Mədiin* *su* *gbata?* *sə* *gupid* *mu.*
mə-diin *su* *G-bata?* *sə* *gupid* *mu*
 TH.ACT.IRR-there ABS SCM-child OBL near 2S.GEN

'The child will come near you.'

- (8) *Pidiaʔu* *sə* *ksilun* *su* *kandiŋ.*
pi-diaʔ-u *sə* *G-silun* *su* *kandiŋ*
 TH.ACT.R-there-1S.ERG OBL SCM-below ABS goat

'I placed the goat under the house.'

- (9) *Məkpəditu* *su* *gbata?* *sə*
məkpəG-ditu *su* *G-bata?* *sə*
 TH.HAB.IRR-there ABS SCM-child OBL

nilan *kada* *kpasku.*
nilan *kada* *G-pasku*
 3PL.GEN every SCM-Christmas

'The child goes to their (place) every Christmas.'

- (10) *Dituita* *sə* *kpəgampu?*
ditu-ita *sə* *G-pəG-ʔampu?*
 there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL SCM-NMR-pray

'Let us proceed to prayer.'

The construction wherein the locative is a nonverbal predicate (5) is similar to the construction wherein the locative is an imperative verb (10). These two constructions, however, can be distinguished by the following characteristics. The subject position in the imperative construction can only be occupied by second-person pronouns or first-person plural pronouns whereas the subject position in the nonverbal sentence construction can be occupied by first, second, and third person pronouns. Also, in actual speech, the imperative construction is marked by a distinct intonation contour whereas the nonverbal sentence construction is unmarked in this respect.

3.3. Locative as adverb

When a locative is an adverb, it occurs as a bare root in the sentence-initial position preceding the verb (11). In this position, it attracts absolutive pronouns which behave like second-position clitics (12).

- (11) *Dini* *miʔəŋəl* *si* Mr. Mente.
dini *mi-ʔəŋəl* *si* Mr. Mente
 here TH.STAT.R-live ABS Mr. Mente

'Mr. Mente lives here.'

- (12) *Diniilan* *miʔəŋəl*.
dini-ilan *mi-ʔəŋəl*
 here-3PL.ABS TH.STAT.R-live

'They live here.'

3.4. Locative phrases preceding an oblique NP

When a locative precedes an oblique NP, it is best analyzed as the head of a locative phrase that precedes another locative, albeit oblique, NP. As head of the locative phrase, it identifies a general location (e.g. distant). In contrast, the oblique NP identifies a specific location (e.g. mountain).

In this construction, the locative occurs as a bare root preceding the oblique marker *sə* which is the first constituent of the oblique NP that follows it (13). When the oblique marker is deleted, the locative remains (14). The locative *dituʔ* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee), in particular, may contract to *tu* 'there' (15). The data in (13)–(15) suggest that the locative may be developing into an oblique marker and replacing an older form.⁴

- (13) *Məgbinaalu* *ditu* *sə* *gbuid*.
məG-binaal-u *ditu* *sə* *G-buid*
 AG.ACT.IRR-farm-1S.ABS there OBL SCM-mountain

'I will farm in the mountain.'

- (14) *Məgbinaalu* *ditu* *gbuid*.
məG-binaal-u *ditu* *G-buid*
 AG.ACT.IRR-farm-1S.ABS there SCM-mountain

'I will farm in the mountain.'

- (15) *Məgbinaalu* *tu* *gbuid*.
məG-binaal-u *ditu* *G-buid*
 AG.ACT.IRR-farm-1S.ABS there SCM-mountain

'I will farm in the mountain.'

3.5. Locative as directional

When a locative is a directional, it is a bare root that occurs with the motion verb *paagaw* 'go/come'. *Paagaw* is a nondeictic motion verb. As such, it provides no information regarding the direction of the movement it encodes. The directional information is

⁴ Structures similar to (14) and (15) are so prevalent in the language that, during the early phase of her research on the language, the author thought that the locative *dituʔ* (or its contracted form *tu*) was the basic oblique marker of Northern Subanen. Barry Blake (1994) provides a discussion on the development of grammatical markers from lexical forms.

provided by the locative that occurs with the verb. In (16), the locative *dini?* 'near Speaker' occurs with the verb and indicates movement in the general direction of the speaker. An oblique pronoun may also occur with the locative to indicate a particular location toward which the movement is directed. In (17), the oblique pronoun *səni?a* '2S.OBL' occurs with the locative *diin* 'there' (near Addressee) to indicate movement toward the particular location of the hearer.

- (16) *Dini paagaw su gənus.*
dini paagaw su G-ʔənus
 here go/come ABS SCM-wind

'The wind is blowing this way.'

- (17) *Diin səni?a paagaw su gbabuy.*
diin səni?a paagaw su G-babuy
 there 2S.OBL go/come ABS SCM-pig

'The pig is moving towards you.'

As a directional, a locative can also occur with a serial verb construction involving two motion verbs, a matrix verb and a nonmatrix verb. In this construction, the locative accompanies the nonmatrix verb. In (18), the matrix verb is *ʔələgan* 'drive away'; the nonmatrix verb is *paagaw* 'go/come'. The locative *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) occurs with *paagaw* 'go/come'.

- (18) *ʔələgan su gbabuy paagaw ditu sə ŋmigataŋ.*
ʔələgan su G-babuy paagaw ditu sə G-miG-ʔataŋ
 drive.away ABS SCM-pig go/come there OBL SCM-AG.ACT.R-wait

'The pig will be driven towards the people who are waiting for it.'

4. Discourse functions

In expository and hortatory discourses, locatives perform the following functions: situational, presentative, transitional, tracking, contrastive, and style.

4.1. Situational function

Situational function simply locates items in space either in the real world or in the discourse world. It is a straightforward use of the locatives wherein, from the range of six locative terms, choices are made on the basis of the literal spatial meaning of the terms. In a text where the Speaker and Addressee are understood to be in Zamboanga del Norte, the speaker uses *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) to refer to BOOST, a training center located in Davao del Sur which is approximately 550 kilometers away from Zamboanga del Norte (19), while she uses *dini?* 'here' (near Speaker) to refer to their homeplace which is right there in Zamboanga del Norte (20).

- (19) *Bu? ditu ka na sə gBOOST kinəənlan məgʔadyas*
bu? ditu ka na sə G-BOOST kinəənlan məG-ʔadyas
 if there 2S.ABS already OBL SCM-BOOST must AG.ACT.IRR-adjust

ʔa	dii	sə	ksəməntaun	mu	dii	gbalay
ʔa	dii	sə	G-səməntaun	mu	dii	G-balay
2S.ABS	there	OBL	SCM-companion	2S.GEN	there	SCM-house
dii	gusəkilaan	ʔay	ksalasala	səniu	dlainlain	
dii	gusəkilaan	ʔay	G-sala-sala	səniu	G-lain-lain	
there	school	because	SCM-one-one	2PL.OBL	SCM-different-different	
ma	gaid	su	ɲniu	gbatasan.		
ma	gaid	su	G-niu	G-batasan		
really	INTSF	ABS	SCM-2PL.GEN	SCM-habits		

'When you are already in BOOST, you must adjust to your companions in the house (and) in school because each one of you has a different personality.'

- (20) Katapusan naku? ɲmətalʔ, ɲmətuntul para səniʔa,
katapusan naku? G-mə-talu? G-mə-tuntul para səniʔa
last 1S.GEN SCM-TH.ABIL.IRR-say SCM-TH.ABIL.IRR-tell for 2S.OBL
- bu? duun kpraktikum maa? pəgimutu? gɓabuy, pəkpəmula,
bu? duun G-praktikum maa? pəG-ʔimutu? G-babuy pəG-pəmula
if EXIST SCM-practicum like NMR-castrate SCM-pig NMR-plant
- pəkpəlaun pəmulanən bu? duma pa, kinəənlan
pəG-pəlaun pəmulanən bu? duma pa kinəənlan
NMR-cause.to.multiply planting.materials and other still must
- məsulayan mu, bu? ʔəndi? mu pədligawan para
sulay-mə--an mu bu? ʔəndi? mu ligaw-pəG--an para
experience-TH.IRR 2S.ERG and NEG 2S.ERG forget-TH.ACT.IRR so.that
- pədaatəŋ niʔa dini səniʔa, mətabalan mu su
pəG-daatəŋ niʔa dini səniʔa tabal-mə--an mu su
TI-arrive 2S.GEN here 1PL(INC).OBL tell-LOC.ABIL.IRR 2S.ERG ABS
- duma, gənnə? maʔaday gami nə kunuŋ mu
duma gənnə? maʔaday gami nə kunuŋ mu
other NEG only 1PL(EXC).ABS LK companion 2S.GEN
- dii gbalay.
dii G-balay
there SCM-house

'The last thing I can say, tell you, if there is a practicum like castrating pigs, planting, propagating plants and still others, you must experience it, and you (should) not forget it so that when you arrive here in our (place), you can tell others, not only us who are in your family.'

In an expository text which explains the trapping of wild pig, the speaker uses *diaʔ* 'there' (not too far from Speaker and Addressee) to refer to a place nearby (21) and uses a combination of *dituʔ* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee), *diaʔ* 'there' (not too far from Speaker and Addressee), and *diiʔ* 'there' (not too near Speaker and Addressee) to convey the notion of different places of varying distances from the Speaker and the Addressee in the discourse world (22)–(24).

- (21) ... isan *dia?* da gəksid dalan, gupid da gbalay.
 isan *dia?* da gəksid dalan gupid da G-balay
 even there only side road near only SCM-house

'... even though it is just there by the road, just beside the house.'

- (22) Bəna? duun dayun ɲməgataŋ ditu.
 bəna? duun dayun G-məG-ʔataŋ ditu
 then EXIST then SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-wait there

'Then there should be someone who will wait there.'

- (23) Duun dəma ɲməgataŋ *dia?*
 duun dəma G-məG-ʔataŋ *dia?*
 EXIST also SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-wait there

'There should also be someone who will wait there.'

- (24) Duun dəma *dii* sə gunaan.
 duun dəma *dii* sə gunaan.
 EXIST also there OBL ahead

'There should also be someone (who will wait) there ahead.'

4.2. Presentative function

Presentative function presents themes or major points of the discourse. The locative *dini?* 'here' (near Speaker) occurs in the formulaic phrases *tinalu? dini* 'it says here' and *miita? ta dini* 'we see here' or its variant *dini miita? ta* 'here we see' to present a theme or a major point of the discourse. The sentences below are taken from a sermon. In (25), the formulaic phrase *tinalu? dini* 'here' (near Speaker) introduces the global theme. In (26), it introduces a lower-level theme. In (27), *miita? ta dini* introduces an exposition. In (28), *dini miita? ta* introduces an application.

- (25) Su ktima ta nandaw, *tinalu?* *dini*, "Su
 su G-tima ta nandaw talu?-in- *dini* su
 ABS SCM-theme 1PL(INC).GEN now say-TH.ACT.R- here ABS

Diwata migbadləŋ dun su gənuŋ.
 Diwata miG-badləŋ dun su G-ʔənuŋ
 God AG.ACT.R-rebuke CATAPH DEF SCM-wind

'Our theme today, it says here, "God rebuked the wind.'"

- (26) Nandaw dituita sə guna gbahin, *tinalu?*
 nandaw ditu-ita sə G-ʔuna G-bahin talu?-in-
 now there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL SCM-first SCM-part say-TH.ACT.R-

pa *dini*, "ʔiguləs su ktinun?an nu Diwata."
 pa *dini* mi-guləs su G-tinun?an nu Diwata
 EXPR here TH.STAT.R-fear ABS SCM-disciples ANAPH.GEN God

'Now let's proceed to the first part, it says here, "The disciples of God were afraid.'"

- (27) Naa *miita?* *ta* *dini* *su* *kəguləs* *nu*
 naa *mi-?ita?* *ta* *dini* *su* *kə-guləs* *nu*
 now TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG here ABS NMR-fear ANAPH.GEN

gniin *nə* *ktinun?an* *təndəŋ* *ditu* *sə* *ŋməsəkəŋ* *nə*
 G-niin *nə* G-tinun?an *təndəŋ* *ditu* *sə* G-məsəkəŋ *nə*
 SCM-3S.GEN LK SCM-disciples because there OBL SCM-strong LK

gbadyu *ŋməsəkəŋ* *nə* *gənuŋ* *nə* *ŋmīnaatəŋ*
 G-badyu G-məsəkəŋ *nə* G-?ənuŋ *nə* G-miN-daataŋ
 SCM-typhoon SCM-strong LK SCM-wind LK SCM-TH.ACT.R-arrive

ditu *sənilan*.
ditu *sənilan*
 there 3PL.OBL

'Now we see here the fear of his disciples because of that strong typhoon, strong wind which came upon them.'

- (28) Naa *dini* *miita?* *ta* *su* *kətubu?* *nita* *tu*
 naa *dini* *mi-?ita?* *ta* *su* *kə-tubu?* *nita* *ditu*
 now here LOC.ABIL.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG ABS NMR-live 1PL(INC).GEN there

Diwata *taŋdun* *ŋmaatəŋ* *diin* *sənita* *su* *kpəgbəlu?*
Diwata *taŋdun* G-maatəŋ *diin* *sənita* *su* G-pəG-bəlu?
 God sometimes SCM-arrive there 1PL(INC).OBL ABS SCM-NMR-rebuke

nu *Diwata* *təndəŋ* *pisulabi* *ta* *su*
nu *Diwata* *təndəŋ* *pi-sulabi* *ta* *su*
 ANAPH.GEN God because TH.ACT.R-prioritize 1PL(INC).ERG ABS

ŋnita *gəguliŋən* *?ənda?* *ta* *baalay* *su*
 G-nita *gəguliŋən* *?ənda?* *ta* *baal-ay* *su*
 SCM-1PL(INC).GEN self NEG.PAST 1PL(INC).ERG do-TH.ACT.IRR ABS

kpəgbə?ət *nu* *Diwata*.
 G-pəG-bə?ət *nu* *Diwata*
 SCM-NMR-will ANAPH.GEN God

'Now here we see, our life in God, sometimes the rebuking of God comes to us because we put ourselves first, we do not do the will of God.'

It may be argued that in (25) and (26), the speaker uses *dini?* 'here' (near Speaker) to refer to a book or some notes near him. It may further be argued that in (27) and (28), the speaker uses *dini?* 'here' to refer to a theme or point of the discourse that he recently discussed. Considering that recent time is a likely temporal metaphor of spatial proximity, the use of *dini?* in the latter sentences is analogous to its use in the earlier sentences. It may then be concluded that the use of *dini?* 'here' in (25)–(28) is merely a metaphorical use of the situational function, as discussed in 4.1. above.

The situational meaning could very well be the primary meaning of *dini?* 'here' in the sentences cited. However, it is worth noticing that the phrases utilizing *dini?* 'here' in the text from which the sentences are excerpted consistently occur in the introduction of themes, lower-level themes, and important points of the discourse. (The complete text from which these sentences are taken is found in Appendix B.) In these occurrences, the phrases

are semantically dispensable in the sense that the meaning intended would be understood even without the phrases. Yet, the form of the phrases has become fossilized in these occurrences. In the author's interpretation, the phrases *tinalu? dini* and *dini miita? ta* now perform the discourse function of introducing themes and important points of the discourse.

4.3. Transitional function

Transitional function signals that the discourse is beginning or moving from one part or stage to another. For this function, *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee), syntactically acting as a deictic verb of motion, is used. The following sentences are taken from a sermon. In (29), *ditu?* is used to signal that the sermon is beginning. In (30), *ditu?* is used to signal that the sermon is proceeding from the introductory part to the first part of the sermon proper.

- (29) Nandaw nā gābii kia *ditu*ita sā kpəgisgut
 nandaw nā gābii kia *ditu*-ita sā G-pəG-hisgut
 now LK eveningg EXPR there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL SCM-NMR-discuss

ditu ktalu? Diwata.
ditu G-talu? Diwata
 there SCM-word God

'Tonight let us go to a discussion of the word of God.'

- (30) Nandaw *ditu*ita sā guna gbahin, tinalu? pa
 nandaw *ditu*-ita sā G-?una G-bahin talu?-in- pa
 now there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL SCM-first SCM-part say-TH.ACT.R- EXPR

dini, "ʔiguləs su ktinun?an nu Diwata."
dini mi-guləs su G-tinun?an nu Diwata
 here TH.STAT.R-fear ABS SCM-disciples ANAPH.GEN God

'Now let's proceed to the first part, it says here, "The disciples of God were afraid."'

4.4. Tracking function

In addition to their situational, presentative, and transitional functions, Northern Subanen locatives are also devices for keeping track of themes, participants, and props in a discourse.

4.4.1. Themes

The term 'theme' is here taken to mean a key idea discussed in a discourse. When tracking themes in Northern Subanen hortatory discourse, the locative *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) is used. Sentence (31) is taken from an advice speech given by a veteran business woman and addressed to those who are planning to start a business. Business terms such as *kpuunan* 'capital' and *ɣnigussyu* 'business' are preceded by *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee).

- (31) Kinəənlan pənu? mu gaid ditu? sə ɲni?a nə kpuunan
 kinəənlan pənu? mu gaid ditu? sə G-ni?a nə G-puunan
 must add 2S.ERG INTSF there OBL SCM-2S.GEN LK SCM-capital
- ʔarun mədlaun su ɲni?a kəwarta miita?
 ʔarun məG-laun su G-ni?a kəwarta me-ʔita?
 so.that TH.ACT.IRR-many ABS SCM-2S.GEN money TH.PASS.IRR-see
- gaid nə migmalampusun ʔa ditu ɲni?a nə ɲnigusyu.
 gaid nə miG-malampusun ʔa ditu G-ni?a nə G-nigusyu
 INTSF LK TH.ACT.R-successful 2S.ABS there SCM-2S.GEN LK SCM-business

'You must add it to your capital so your money will increase, it will be evident that you became successful in your business.'

4.4.2. Participants and props

The term 'participant' is here taken to mean a character in a discourse. The term 'prop', on the other hand, refers to an item or object mentioned in a discourse. Discourse participants may either be major or minor, and human, nonhuman, or divine; discourse props may either be concrete or abstract. In an informal social context, participants and props are all tracked by either *diin* 'there' (near Addressee) or *dii?* 'there' (not too near Speaker and Addressee). In the following sentences, *dii?* is used to track human participants (32), nonhuman participants (33), and divine participants (34). *Dii?* is also used to track a prop which is a concrete object (35) and one which is an abstract concept (36).

- (32) Naa giinin gəmbəgay-u kəpəna?əna? dii sə
 naa giin-in G-mə-bəgay-u G-pəna?əna? dii sə
 now 3S.ABS-that SCM-TH.ABIL.IRR-give-1S.ERG SCM-idea there OBL
- gbəgu ɲməɲnigusyu kinəənlan bətaŋan gaid
 G-bəgu G-məG-nigusyu kinəənlan bətaŋ-an gaid
 SCM-new SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-business must put-LOC.ACT.IRR INTSF
- gupia dii gəna?əna?
 gupia dii gəna?əna?
 INTSF there mind

'Now that is the idea I can give to neophytes in business, be serious about it.'

- (33) Giinini su dlain kəlası kəpəsumpu? dii sə
 giin-ini su G-lain kəlası G-pəG-sumpu? dii sə
 3S.ABS-this ABS SCM-different way SCM-NMR-control there OBL
- gbabuy nudiin.
 G-babuy nudiin
 SCM-pig in.the.past

'This is another way of controlling wild pigs in the past.'

- (34) Male, su mələŋas guna ni?a gbaalən bu? məgəndaw
 Male su G-mələŋas G-ʔuna ni?a G-baal-ən bu? məgəndaw
 Male ABS SCM-good SCM-first 2S.GEN SCM-do-TH.ACT.IRR if morning

kinəalan	məgampu?	ʔa	məkpəsalamat	ʔa	dii	
kinəalan	məG-ʔampu?	ʔa	məG-pəsalamat	ʔa	dii	
must	AG.ACT.IRR-pray	2S.ABS	AG.ACT.IRR-thank	2S.ABS	there	
Diwata	ʔay	binəgayan	ʔa	pa	dlain	gəndaw bu?
Diwata	ʔay	bəgay-in--an	ʔa	pa	G-lain	gəndaw bu?
God	because	give-LOC.ACT.R	2S.ABS	still	SCM-different	day and
binəntayan	ʔaan	sə	ŋniʔa		kpəktulug	
bantay-in--an	ʔaan	sə	G-niʔa		G-pəG-tulug	
watch-LOC.ACT.R	you.by.him	OBL	SCM-2S.GEN		SCM-NMR-sleep	
ktibuuk	gəbii.					
G-tibuuk	gəbii					
SCM-whole	night					

'Male, the first thing that you must do in the morning is you pray, you thank God because you were still given another day and you were watched over by Him in your sleep the whole night (before).'

- (35) Gawas dii ktəliaman məgbaal ktagad.
 gawas dii G-təliaman məG-baal G-tagad
 aside there SCM-metal.spear AG.ACT.R-make SCM-bamboo.spear

'Aside from the metal spear, (people) would make bamboo spears.'

- (36) ʔəndaaidun dlain gəmbilinami diin səniu
 ʔəndaaidun G-lain G-ʔəmbilin-ami diin səniu
 NEG.EXIST SCM-different SCM-leave.behind-1PL(EXC).ERG there 2PL.OBL

gawas	dii	sə	ktinauan	ʔay	su	ktinauan	ʔəndi?
gawas	dii	sə	G-tinauan	ʔay	su	G-tinauan	ʔəndi?
besides	there	OBL	SCM-knowledge	because	ABS	SCM-knowledge	NEG

na	məʔawi?	bisan	ta?	mawi?	dun.
na	mə-ʔawi?	bisan	ta?	m-ʔawi?	dun
anymore	TH.ABIL.IRR-take.away	even	who	AG.ACT.IRR-take.away	CATAPH

'We have nothing else to bequeath you except education [lit: knowledge] because education cannot be taken away (from you) by whoever would take it away.'

4.5. Contrastive function

A pair of locatives can be used to signal contrast. The following sentences are taken from a speech delivered by a barangay official during the closing program for a name-writing literacy seminar. In (37), he contrasts the skill of writing one's name, a skill which the graduates have already achieved, and the skill of reading, a skill which the speaker is urging the graduates to work towards. The speaker uses *diin* 'there' (near Addressee) when he refers to writing one's name and *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) when he refers to reading. The use of a contrastive pair of locatives underlines the contrast between the two skills they mark.

In the same speech, the official addresses first the seminar graduates and then those in the audience who have not yet taken advantage of the seminar. The speaker uses two

different kinds of locatives when referring to the graduates. In (37), he directs his remarks specifically to the graduates, and refers to them using *diin* 'there' (near Addressee), but in (38), he directs his remarks to others in the audience and refers to the graduates using *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee). Here the use of a contrasting pair of locatives underlines the contrast in the roles of the graduates as addressees and as nonaddressees.

- (37) Su ksala nə mədasig ʔu diin səniʔ,
 su G-sala nə G-mə-dasig ʔu diin səniʔ
 ABS SCM-one LK SCM-TH.ABIL.IRR-encourage 1S.ERG there 2PL.OBL

məkpədayunamu sə kpəktuʔun tampan gaid
 məG-pədayun-amu sə G-pəG-tuʔun tampan gaid
 AG.ACT.IRR-continue-2PL.ABS OBL SCM-NMR-study until INTSF

məkəbasaamu. . .
 məkə-basa-amu
 AG.ABIL.IRR-read-2PL.ABS

'The one thing that I can encourage you (to do), you continue studying until you are really able to read. . .'

- (38) . . . gənnə? maʔad tampan diin sə kpəksulat dii ʔalan
 gənnə? maʔad tampan diin sə G-pəG-sulat dii ʔalan
 NEG only until there OBL SCM-NMR-write there name

bu? ʔəndi? tampan pa ditu sə kpəgbasa.
 bu? ʔəndi? tampan pa ditu sə G-pəG-basa
 but NEG until yet there OBL SCM-NMR-read

' . . . don't stop just at being able to write one's name but instead continue until one is able to read.'

- (39) Dayun gənnə? maʔad ditu sənilan gaku? məgəngat
 dayun gənnə? maʔad ditu sənilan gaku? məG-ʔəngat
 then NEG only there 3PL.OBL 1S.ABS AG.ACT.IRR-invite

mədasig ʔisan pa sə gənda? pa siguru
 məG-dasig ʔisan pa sə G-ʔənda? pa siguru
 AG.ACT.IRR-encourage even still OBL SCM-NEG.PAST yet maybe

məkəgusəkila.
 məkə-gusəkila
 AG.ABIL.IRR-study

'Then it is not only them that I invite, encourage, but also [lit: even] those who have not yet been able to study.'

4.6. Style function

In certain formal social contexts, the locative *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) tends to replace all other locatives. The use of *ditu?* creates a formal social style. For example, in a formal speech delivered during the closing program of the name-writing seminar, *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) is used to mark a prop and a human

participant, as shown in (40). This is a departure from the pattern shown in 4.4.2 wherein props and participants are tracked by *diin* 'there' (near Addressee) or *dii?* 'there' (not too near Speaker and Addressee). In formal secular discourse, *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) tends to establish a formal social style.

- (40) Sə gbinaal kpəktubus kpəgusəkila kpəksulat
 sə G-baal-in- G-pəG-tubus G-pəG-gusəkila G-pəG-sulat
 OBL SCM-do-TH.ACT.R- SCM-NMR-finish SCM-NMR-study SCM-NMR-write

ditu sə niu ŋa ŋalan məkəsalamatu
ditu sə niu ŋa ŋalan məG-pəsalamat-u
 there OBL 2PL.GEN PL name AG.ACT.IRR-thank-1SG.ABS

gəmbagəl *ditu* sə ŋmimandu? . . .
 gəmbagəl *ditu* sə G-miN-mandu?
 big there OBL SCM-AG.ACT.R-teach

'As for what has been accomplished, the completion of the name-writing seminar, I thank the instructors . . .'

Similarly, *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) occurs frequently in sermons. Sentence (41) is taken from a sermon. Once again departing from the pattern described in 4.4.2, *ditu?* 'there' (far from Speaker and Addressee) marks props such as 'faith', 'hand', and 'crown' (41). The use of *ditu?* in formal religious discourse also creates a formal social style.

- (41) Busa? si Pidru pinəŋiin su dlaun məktətu?u
 busa? si Pidru pinəŋi-nə su G-laun məktətu?u
 therefore ABS Peter asked-3S.ERG ABS SCM-all believers
- məkpəlīgən *ditu* sə nilan kpəktu?u Pial nilan
 məkpə-līgən *ditu* sə nilan G-pəktu?u pial nilan
 AG.ACT.IRR-strong there OBL 3PL.GEN SCM-faith commit 3PL.ERG
- su ŋnilan kətubu? *ditu* gəməg nu Diwata ?ay
 su G-nilan kə-tubu? *ditu* gəməg nu Diwata? ?ay
 ABS SCM-3PL.GEN NMR-live there hand ANAPH.GEN God because
- su Diwata mələlaat gupia dii sənilan, mələlaat dii sənita . . .
 su Diwata mələlaat gupia dii sənilan mələlaat dii sənita
 ABS God merciful INTSF there 3PL.OBL merciful there 1PL(INC).OBL
- dliaganən gita nə gətaŋ dini sə gbənuə
 dliagan-nə gita nə gətaŋ dini sə G-bənuə
 like-3S.ERG 1PL(INC).ABS LK people here OBL SCM-earth
- məkədawat *ditu* sə kuruna nə ?əndi? məlawəs.
 məkə-dawat *ditu* sə kuruna nə ?əndi? məlawəs
 AG.ABIL.IRR-recieve there OBL crown LK NEG fade

'Therefore Peter asked that all believers be strong in their faith. They should commit their life into the hands of God because God is very merciful to them, merciful to us . . . he desires that we people here on earth will be able to receive a crown that will not fade.'

5. Conclusion

This study has identified six locative terms in Northern Subanen: *dini?*, *diin*, *dii?*, *dia?*, *ditu?*, and *diitu?*. These locatives are person-oriented, spatial deictics distinguishing locations that are either near the speaker, near the addressee, or different distances far from both.

Syntactically, locatives may occur as nonverbal predicates, deictic verbs, adverbs, locative phrases preceding oblique NPs, and directionals. In expository and hortatory discourse, the locatives may function to situate items in space; present themes and important points of the discourse; signal transition from one part or stage of a discourse to another; track themes, participants, and props; signal contrast; and indicate a formal social style.

Abbreviations

ABIL	abilitative	NEG	negative
ABS	absolute	NMR	nominalizer
ACT	active	PART	particle
Adr	Addressee	PASS	passive
AG	Agent	PAST	past time
ANAPH	anaphoric	PL	plural
CATAPH	cataphoric	OBL	oblique
ERG	ergative	QUES	question particle
EXC	exclusive	R	realis
EXIST	existential	REDUP	reduplicated segments
EXPR	expression	S	singular
GEN	genitive	SCM	syntactic category marker (occurs on constituents of NPs indicating that the construction is a nominal)
HAB	habitual	Sp	Speaker
IMP	imperative	STAT	stative
INC	inclusive	TH	Theme
INDET	indeterminate	TI	time
INTSF	intensifier		
IRR	irrealis		
LK	linker		
LOC	Loc (location or state)		

Appendix A

The Northern Subanen speakers whose expositions, speeches, advices, and sermons were analyzed for this study are the following:

Mr. Zosimo Bucayao	Speech during the closing program of a name-writing seminar
Mrs. Rose Cudas	Advice to her school-age children Advice to new businessmen
Miss Mercedes Cudas	The tradition of hunting wild pigs Advice to a younger sister
Mr. Paulino Gansay	The tradition of hunting wild pigs Sermon on strengthening one's faith
Mr. Leon Jose	Sermon on honesty and industry
Mr. Lormido Sagunog	Sermon on drawing near to God

Appendix B

The following is a sermon prepared and delivered by Mr. Lormido Sagunog, lay preacher of the Tugupan Evangelical Church, Barangay Bulawan, Katipunan, Zamboanga del Norte, Philippines. The sermon was delivered upon the request of the author in 1994. The author would like to thank Mr. Sagunog for granting permission to include his sermon in this paper.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------|------|--------------------|-----|--|
| Nandaw | nə | gəbii | kia | dituita | sə | |
| nandaw | nə | gəbii | kia | ditu-ita | sə | |
| now | LK | evening | EXPR | there-1PL(INC).ABS | OBL | |

kpəgisgut ditu ktalu? Diwata.
G-pəG-hisgut ditu G-talu? Diwata
SCM-NMR-discuss there SCM-word God

Tonight let us go to a discussion of the word of God.
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----|-------------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| Laup | ditu | sə | ŋMatiu | kapitulu | ?utsu | birsikulu | binti |
| laup | ditu | sə | G-Matiu | kapitulu | ?utsu | birsikulu | binti |
| according.to | there | OBL | SCM-Matthew | chapter | eight | verse | twenty |

trəs	paagaw	sə	binti	syiti,	su	ktima	ta
trəs	paagaw	sə	binti	syiti	su	G-tima	ta
three	go/come	OBL	twenty	seven	ABS	SCM-theme	1PL(INC).GEN

nandaw,	tinalu?	dini,	"Su	Diwata	migbadləŋ	dun	su
nandaw	talun-in-	dini	su	Diwata	miG-badləŋ	dun	su
now	say-TH.ACT.R-	here	ABS	God	AG.ACT.R-rebuke	CATAPH	DEF

genus."
G-?enus
SCM-wind

According to Matthew chapter eight verses twenty-three to twenty-seven, our theme today, it says here, "God rebuked the wind."

3. Duun nandaw nə ktelubuuk nə gbahin nə gbəgay ?u
duun nandaw nə G-təlu-buuk nə G-bahin nə G-bəgay ?u
EXIST now LK SCM-three-piece LK SCM-part LK SCM-give 1S.ERG

diin səniu kəni guras kəni: miguləs su ktinun?an
diin səniu kəni G-?uras kəni mi-guləs su G-tinun?an
there 2PL.OBL this SCM-time this TH.STAT.R-fear ABS SCM-disciples

nu Diwata; dayun su kədua? su Diwata pigaudan
nu Diwata dayun su kədua? su Diwata gaud-pi--an
ANAPH.GEN God then ABS second ABS God near-LOC.ACT.R

nu ?niin ktinun?an; dayun su kətulu, su Diwata
nu G-niin G-tinun?an dayun su kətulu su Diwata
ANAPH.ERG SCM-3S.GEN SCM-disciples then ABS third ABS God

migabaŋ ditu sə ?niin nə ktinun?an.
miG-gabaŋ ditu sə G-niin nə G-tinun?an
AG.ACT.R-help there OBL SCM-3S.GEN LK SCM-disciples

There are three parts to what I will share with you at this time: the disciples of God were afraid; then the second, His disciples approached God; then the third, God helped His disciples.

4. Sə gəndi?ita pa məditu sə
sə G-?əndi?ita pa mə-ditu sə
OBL SCM-NEG-1PL(INC).ABS yet TH.ACT.IRR-there OBL

kpəktuntul ditu sə ktalu? Diwata, məgampu?ita.
G-pəG-tuntul ditu sə G-talu? Diwata məG-?ampu?-ita
SCM-NMR-narrate there OBL SCM-word God AG.ACT.IRR-pray-1PL(INC).ABS

Before we proceed to a discussion of the word of God, let us pray.

5. Ginu?u, kəni guras kəni gəmbagəl salamat diin səni?a.
Ginu?u kəni G-?uras kəni gəmbagəl salamat diin səni?a
Lord this SCM-time this big thanks there 2S.OBL

Lord, at this time (we) thank You so much.

6. Ya?a məgbəgay diin sənami ktinauan sanay
ya?a məG-bəgay diin sənami G-tinauan sanay
2S.ABS AG.ACT.IRR-give there 1PL(EXC).OBL SCM-wisdom while

nami kpəgisəgut sə ni?a ktalu?
nami G-pəG-hisgut sə ni?a G-talu?
1PL(EXC).GEN SCM-NMR-discuss OBL 2S.GEN SCM-word

You grant us wisdom as we discuss Your word.

7. Bəgay mu su ɲmələŋas kpəndayan sə nami
 bəgay mu su G-mələŋas G-pəndayan sə nami
 give 2S.ERG ABS SCM-good SCM-understanding OBL 1PL(EXC).GEN

kpəŋəna?əna? kətu mə?abəri təndaŋ gami
 G-pəŋəna?əna? kətu mə-?abəri təndaŋ gami
 SCM-thinking that TH.STAT.IRR-open because 1PL(EXC).ABS

məməlanduŋ sə ni?a ktalu?
 məN-pəlanduŋ sə ni?a G-talu?
 AG.ACT.IRR-meditate OBL 2S.GEN SCM-word

Grant us good understanding in our minds so that it will be opened because we will meditate on Your word.

8. Pənaləŋinay mu su ŋa məŋinəŋəg dunini.
 pənaləŋin-ay mu su ŋa məŋin-dəŋəg dun-ini
 bless-TH.IMP.IRR 2S.ERG ABS PL AG.ACT.IRR-hear CATAPH-this

Bless the listeners of this (sermon).

9. Ya?a məgbəgay kisək ktinauan kətu
 ya?a məG-bəgay kisək G-tinauan kətu
 2S.ABS AG.ACT.IRR-give encouragement SCM-wisdom that
- məsabut nami su ɲmə?ananən sə
 mə-sabut nami su G-mə?ananən sə
 TH.STAT.IRR-understand 1PL(EXC).ERG ABS SCM-meaning OBL

ɲni?a ktalu?
 G-ni?a G-talu?
 SCM-2S.GEN SCM-word

You grant encouragement (and) wisdom so we may understand the meaning of Your word.

10. Pənaləŋinay mu dəma su ɲməguit
 pənaləŋin-ay mu dəma su G-məG-?uit
 bless-TH.IMP.IRR 2S.ERG also ABS SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-bring

dunini dii ɲalan ni Dyisas. ?amin.
 dun-ini dii ɲalan ni Dyisas ?amin
 CATAPH-this there name GEN Jesus Amen

Bless also the one who will deliver this (message) in the name of Jesus. Amen.

11. Nandaw dituita sə guna gbahin, tinalu?
 nandaw ditu-ita sə G-?una G-bahin talu?-in-
 now there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL SCM-first SCM-part say-TH.ACT.R-

pa dini, "ʔiguləs su ktinun?an nu Diwata."
 pa dini mi-guləs su G-tinun?an nu Diwata
 EXPR here TH.STAT.R-fear ABS SCM-disciples ANAPH.GEN God

Now let's proceed to the first part, it says here, "The disciples of God were afraid."

12. Su η a ktinun?an nu Diwata, sanayilan ditu? sə
 su η a G-tinun?an nu Diwata sanay-ilan ditu? sə
 ABS PL SCM-disciples ANAPH.GEN God while-3PL.ABS there OBL
- ktitəŋa? dagat, sanay gilan sinumakay dii ksəkayan
 G-titəŋa? dagat sanay gilan sakay-inum- dii G-səkayan
 SCM-middle sea while 3PL.ABS ride-TH.ACT.R- there SCM-boat
- ksəməntaun nilan su Diwata ditu, minaatəŋ sənilan
 G-səməntaun nilan su Diwata ditu miN-daateŋ sənilan
 SCM-companion 3PL.GEN ABS God there TH.ACT.R-arrive 3PL.OBL
- su kəgules tu sə nilan nə kətubu? təndəŋ su gənu
 su kə-gules ditu sə nilan nə kə-tubu? təndəŋ su G-?ənu
 ABS NMR-fear there OBL 3PL.GEN LK NMR-live because ABS SCM-wind
- minaatəŋ minataki tu sənilan bu? gilan
 miN-daateŋ min-?ataki ditu sənilan bu? gilan
 TH.ACT.R-arrive AG.ACT.R-attack there 3PL.OBL and 3PL.ABS
- ?ibalaka ditu sə nilan gəguliŋan.
 mi-balaka ditu sə nilan gəguliŋan
 TH.STAT.R-worry there OBL 3PL.GEN self

The disciples of God, while they were in the middle of the sea, while they were riding in the boat with the Lord, fear came upon their lives because the wind came (and) attacked them and they were worried for themselves.

13. Naa miita? ta dini su kəgules nu
 naa mi-?ita? ta dini su kə-gules nu
 now TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG here ABS NMR-fear ANAPH.GEN
- ŋniin nə ktinun?an təndəŋ ditu sə ŋməsekəŋ nə
 G-niin nə G-tinun?an təndəŋ ditu sə G-məsekəŋ nə
 SCM-3S.GEN LK SCM-disciples because there OBL SCM-strong LK
- gbadyu, ŋməsekəŋ nə gənu nə ŋminaatəŋ
 G-badyu G-məsekəŋ nə G-?ənu nə G-miN-daateŋ
 SCM-typhoon SCM-strong LK SCM-wind LK SCM-TH.ACT.R-arrive
- ditu sənilan.
 ditu sənilan
 there 3PL.OBL

Now we see here the fear of his disciples because of that strong typhoon, strong wind that came to them.

14. Naa diin sə nita nə kətubu? nə Kristuhanun,
 naa diin sə nita nə kə-tubu? nə Kristuhanun
 now there OBL 1PL(INC).GEN LK NMR-live LK Christian
- miita?ta nə taŋdun maatəŋ diin
 mi-?ita?-ta nə taŋdun m-daateŋ diin
 TH.STAT.R-see-1PL(INC).ERG LK sometimes TH.ACT.IRR-arrive there

sənita	su	ɣmɛguʔulita		dun	təndɛɣ
sənita	su	G-mɛ-guʔul-ita		dun	təndɛɣ
1PL(INC).OBL	ABS	SCM-TH.STAT.IRR-worry-1PL(INC).ABS		CATAPH	because

taɣdun	ʔəndaɪdun	nita	nə	ɣmɛhimuʔ,	ʔəndaɪdun
taɣdun	ʔəndaɪdun	nita	nə	G-mɛhimuʔ	ʔəndaɪdun
sometimes	NEG.EXIST	1PL(INC).GEN	LK	SCM-can.do	NEG.EXIST

nita	ksɛlapiʔ	ʔu	gaan	ba	saʔan,	maatɛɣ
nita	G-sɛlapiʔ	ʔu	G-ʔaan	ba	saʔan	m-daatɛɣ
1PL(INC).GEN	SCM-money	or	SCM-eat	PART	INDET	TH.ACT.IRR-arrive

dayun	sənita	su	ɣmɛgulesita		dun	nə
dayun	sənita	su	G-mɛ-gules-ita		dun	nə
then	1PL(INC).OBL	ABS	SCM-TH.STAT.IRR-fear-1PL(INC).ABS		CATAPH	LK

gəndiʔ	ta	na	mɛʔatubaɣ	su	gbaalən
gəndiʔ	ta	na	mɛ-ʔatubaɣ	su	G-baalən
NEG	1PL(INC).ERG	PART	TH.STAT.IRR-attend.to	ABS	SCM-work

nu	Diwata.
nu	Diwata
ANAPH.GEN	God

Now there in our lives as Christians, we see that sometimes something will come to us that will bother us because sometimes there is nothing that we can do, we have no money or food maybe, then something will come to us those that will bother us that we can no longer attend to the work of God.

15. Miitaʔ ta dayun ʔəndiʔita na
 mi-ʔitaʔ ta dayun ʔəndiʔ-ita na
 TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG then NEG-1PL(INC).ABS anymore
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|----|----------|-----------|---------|------------------|
| ʔəmbaal | su | ɣa | gbaalən | nu | Diwata, | ʔəndiʔita |
| mɛ-baal | su | ɣa | G-baalən | nu | Diwata | ʔəndiʔ-ita |
| TH.ABIL.IRR-do | ABS | PL | SCM-work | ANAPH.GEN | God | NEG-1PL(INC).ABS |

na	mɛksimba	tu	Diwata	təndɛɣ	giin
na	mɛG-simba	ditu	Diwata	təndɛɣ	giin
anymore	AG.ACT.IRR-worship	there	God	because	3S.ABS

kpigənaʔənaʔ	ta	su	ɣa	gbətaɣ	nə	ɣmayak	nə
G-pi-gənaʔənaʔ	ta	su	ɣa	G-bətaɣ	nə	G-mayak	nə
SCM-TH.ACT.R-think	1PL(INC).ERG	ABS	PL	SCM-thing	LK	SCM-like	GEN

ɣnita	gunəd,	su	ɣa	gbətaɣ	nə	dliagan	nə
G-nita	G-ʔunəd	su	ɣa	G-bətaɣ	nə	G-liagan	nə
SCM-1PL(INC).GEN	SCM-flesh	ABS	PL	SCM-thing	LK	SCM-like	GEN

ɲnita	gunəd	təndəŋ	ditu	sə	nita	nə	kəgules.
G-nita	G-ʔunəd	təndəŋ	ditu	sə	nita	nə	kə-gules
SCM-1PL(INC).GEN	SCM-flesh	because	there	OBL	1PL(INC).GEN	LK	NMR-fear

We see then that we can no longer do God's work, we will no longer worship God because what we are thinking of are the things that our flesh likes, the things that our flesh desires because of our fear.

16. Maʔad landun ktinalu? ni Hagiu ditu sə Hagiu ʔuna
 maʔad landun G-taluʔ-in- ni Hagiu ditu sə Hagiu ʔuna
 but what SCM-say-TH.ACT.R- ERG Haggai there OBL Haggai one

birsikulu	nuibi	paagaw	ʔunsi?
birsikulu	nuibi	paagaw	ʔunsi
verse	nine	go/come	eleven

But what did Haggai say in Haggai one verses nine to eleven?

17. "Gamū minəgaw ditu sə ɲmələget nə gbətaŋ, maʔad
 gamū min-nəgaw ditu sə G-mələget nə G-bətaŋ, maʔad
 2PL.ABS AG.ACT.R-search there OBL SCM-many LK SCM-thing but

minaatəŋ	diin	səniu	ɲmika?	da	tuməndaŋ
miN-daətəŋ	diin	səniu	G-mika?	da	tuməndaŋ
TH.ACT.R-arrive	there	2PL.OBL	SCM-little	only	because

pisadan	niu	migəba?	su	gbalay
pi-sadan	niu	mi-gəba?	su	G-balay
TH.ACT.R-take.for.granted	2PL.ERG	TH.STAT.R-destroy	ABS	SCM-house

Diwata	bu?	gamū	mingəbək	ditu	sə	niu	guliŋan
Diwata	bu?	gamū	min-gəbək	ditu	sə	niu	guliŋan
God	and	2PL.ABS	AG.ACT.R-run	there	OBL	2PL.GEN	own

gbalay,	ʔənda?	niu	baalay	su	gbalay
G-balay	ʔənda?	niu	baal-ay	su	G-balay
SCM-house	NEG.PAST	2PL.ERG	make-TH.ACT.R	ABS	SCM-house

nu	Diwata.
nu	Diwata
ANAPH.GEN	God

"You looked for a lot of things, but only a little came to you because you left the house of God to be destroyed and you ran to your own homes, you did not build the house of God.

18. Təndəŋ diin səniu, su dlagit ʔəndi? na məgbəgay
 təndəŋ diin səniu su G-laŋit ʔəndi? na məG-bəgay
 because there 2PL.OBL ABS SCM-heaven NEG anymore AG.ACT.IRR-give

nə	ktəddaw,	su	dlupa?	ʔəndi?	na	məgbəgay
nə	G-təddaw	su	G-lupa?	ʔəndi?	na	məG-bəgay
OBL	SCM-cool	ABS	SCM-earth	NEG	anymore	AG.ACT.IRR-give

gmələŋas	gbuŋa	təndəŋ	pisadan	niu	su
G-mələŋas	G-buŋa	təndəŋ	pi-sadan	niu	su
SCM-good	SCM-fruit	because	TH.ACT.R-take.for.granted	2PL.ERG	ABS

gbalay	Diwata	bu?	?ənda?	niu	?ətubaŋay."
G-balay	Diwata	bu?	?ənda?	niu	?atubaŋ-ay
SCM-house	God	and	NEG.PAST	2PL.ERG	attend.to-TH.ACT.IRR

Because of you, heaven will no longer give coolness, the earth will no longer give good fruit because you took for granted the house of God and you did not attend to it."

19. Naa dini miita? ta, su kətu bu? nita
 naa dini mi-?ita? ta su kə-tu bu? nita
 now here TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG ABS NMR-live 1PL(INC).GEN

tu	Diwata,	taŋdun	ŋmaateŋ	diin	səni ta	su
ditu	Diwata	taŋdun	G-maateŋ	diin	səni ta	su
there	God	sometimes	SCM-arrive	there	1PL(INC).OBL	ABS

kpegbəlu?	nu	Diwata	təndəŋ	pisulabi
G-peG-bəlu?	nu	Diwata	təndəŋ	pi-sulabi
SCM-NMR-rebuke	ANAPH.GEN	God	because	TH.ACT.R-prioritize

ta	su	ŋni ta	gəguliŋən,	?ənda?	ta
ta	su	G-ni ta	gəguliŋən	?ənda?	ta
1PL(INC).ERG	ABS	SCM-1PL(INC).GEN	self	NEG.PAST	1PL(INC).ERG

baalay	su	kpegbə?ət	nu	Diwata.
baal-ay	su	G-peG-bə?ət	nu	Diwata
do-TH.ACT.IRR	ABS	SCM-NMR-will	ANAPH.GEN	God

Now here we see, our life in God, sometimes the rebuking of God comes to us because we put ourselves first, we did not do the will of God.

20. Nandaw mədituita se kədua? gbahin,
 nandaw mə-ditu-ita se kədua? G-bahin
 now TH.ACT.IRR-there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL second SCM-part

tinalu?	dini,	"Su	ktinun?an	nu	Diwata
talū?-in-	dini	su	G-tinun?an	nu	Diwata
say-TH.ACT.R-	here	ABS	SCM-disciples	ANAPH.GEN	God

mikpegaud	diin	səni in."
miG-pegaud	diin	səni in
AG.ACT.R-go.near	there	3S.OBL

Now let us go to the second part, it says here, "The disciples of God drew near to Him."

21. Naa sanayilan tu se ktitəŋa? dagat, miita?
 naa sanay-ilan ditu se G-titəŋa? dagat mi-?ita?
 now while-3PL.ABS there OBL SCM-middle sea TH.STAT.R-see

ta	dini,	su	ktinun?an,	?ibudukailan,
ta	dini	su	G-tinun?an	mi-buduka-ilan
1PL(INC).ERG	here	ABS	SCM-disciples	TH.STAT.R-worry-3PL.ABS

miguləsilan, bu? mikpəgaudilan ditu sə Diwata.
 mi-guləsilan bu? miG-pəgaud-ilan ditu sə Diwata
 TH.STAT.R-fear-3PL.ABS and AG.ACT.R-go.near-3PL.ABS there OBL God

Now while they were in the middle of the sea, we see here, the disciples, they were worried, they were afraid, and they drew near to God.

22. ?ali?ilan pəktalu?, "Diwata, ?əbaɣay muami
 ?ali?ilan pəG-talu? Diwata ?abaɣ-ay mu-ami
 then-3PL.ABS AG.ACT.IRR-say God help-TH.IMP.IRR 2S.ERG-1PL(EXC).ABS

?ay maataɣami!"
 ?ay matay-ami
 because die-1PL(EXC).ABS

Then they said, "God, help us for we might die!"

23. Bu? dini miita? ta, su ɣniin nə ktinun?an,
 bu? dini mi-?ita? ta su G-niin nə G-tinun?an
 and here TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG ABS SCM-3S.GEN LK SCM-disciples

təndəɣ miguləsilan na gupia, sinəpɪt nilan
 təndəɣ mi-guləsilan na gupia sənɪt-in- nilan
 because TH.STAT.R-fear-3PL.ABS already very call-TH.ACT.R- 3PL.ERG

su Diwata ditu sənilan nə ɣməgaud.
 su Diwata ditu sənilan nə G-məgaud
 ABS God there 3PL.OBL LK SCM-near

And here we see, His disciples, because they were so afraid already, they called on God (who was) there nearby.

24. Naa miita? ta dema diin sə nita
 naa mi-?ita? ta dema diin sə nita
 now TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG also there OBL 1PL(INC).GEN

pədləkətubu? nə ɣa Kristuhanun, kinəənlan dema gita
 pədləkə-tubu? nə ɣa Kristuhanun kinəənlan dema gita
 NMR-live LK PL Christian need also 1PL(INC).ABS

məksəpɪtita tu Diwata, pəgəgəbitən
 məG-səpɪt-ita ditu Diwata gabɪt-CV-peG--en
 AG.ACT.IRR-call-1PL(INC).ABS there God speak.to-REDUP-TH.ACT.IRR

ta su ɣnita Diwata.
 ta su G-nita Diwata
 1PL(INC).ERG ABS SCM-1PL(INC).GEN God

Now we also see in our life as Christians, we also need to call on God, let us speak with our God.

25. Pənəɣgi? maataɣ sənita su ɣməlɪsəd ditu
 pənəɣgi? m-daataɣ sənita su G-məlɪsəd ditu
 for.example TH.ACT.IRR-arrive 1PL(INC).OBL ABS SCM-difficult there

se nita ketubu?, pəgaudan ta su Diwata
 se nita kə-tubu? gaud-pə--an ta su Diwata
 OBL 1PL(INC).GEN NMR-live near-LOC.ACT.IRR 1PL(INC).ERG ABS God

?ay giin ?andam məgabaŋ.
 ?ay giin ?andam məG-?abaŋ
 because 3S.ABS willing AG.ACT.IRR-help

If something difficult for our lives come upon us, let us draw near to God because He is willing to help.

26. Dini miita? ta su Diwata nə
 dini mi-?ita? ta su Diwata nə
 here TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG ABS God LK

ksinəmbagən su ŋnilan nə kpəkəgaud
 G-səmbag-in--nə su G-nilan nə G-pəG-pəgaud
 SCM-respond-LOC.ACT.R-3SG.ERG ABS SCM-3PL.GEN LK SCM-NMR-go.near

diin səniin, su ŋnilan kpəksəŋpit diin səniin təndəŋ
 diin səniin su G-nilan G-pəG-səŋpit diin səniin təndəŋ
 there 3S.OBL ABS SCM-3PL.GEN SCM-NMR-call there 3S.OBL because

?isuunaan gilən miŋinəənlan ditu səniin.
 suun-mi--an-nə gilən miN-kinəənlan ditu səniin
 know-TH.ACT.R-3S.ERG 3PL.ABS AG.ACT.R-need there 3S.OBL

Here we see God respond to their drawing near to Him, to their calling on Him because He knew they needed Him.

27. Nandaw dii se nita nə ketubu? nə Kristuhanun,
 nandaw dii se nita nə kə-tubu? nə Kristuhanun
 now there OBL 1PL(INC).GEN LK NMR-live LK Christian

kinəənlan dəma pəgaudan ta su Diwata ?ay
 kinəənlan dəma gaud-pə--an ta su Diwata ?ay
 must also near-LOC.ACT.IRR 1PL(INC).ERG ABS God because

giin məkəgabaŋ diin sənita bu? giin məkəsəmbag
 giin məkə-gabaŋ diin sənita bu? giin məkə-səmbag
 3S.ABS AG.ABIL.IRR-help there 1PL(INC).OBL and 3S.ABS AG.ABIL.IRR-answer

ditu se nita kpəŋinə?ənlan.
 ditu se nita G-pəŋinə?ənlan
 there OBL 1PL(INC).GEN SCM-need

Now in our lives as Christians, we also need to draw near to God because He can help us and He can respond to our needs.

28. Bu? nandaw mədituita se ketapusan nə
 bu? nandaw mə-ditu-ita se ketapusan nə
 and now TH.ACT.IRR-there-1PL(INC).ABS OBL last LK

gbahin, tinalu? dini, su Diwata gii ḡmikəgabaḡ
 G-bahin talu?-in- dini su Diwata giin G-mikə-gabaḡ
 SCM-part say-TH.ACT.R- here ABS God 3SG.ABS SCM-AG.ABIL.R-help

ditu sə niin nə ktinun?an.
 ditu sə niin nə G-tinun?an
 there OBL 3S.GEN LK SCM-disciples

And now let's proceed to the last part, it says here, God was the one who was able to help to His disciples.

29. ?inabagan nu Diwata sanay dituilan sə ktitəḡa?
 ?abaḡ-in--an nu Diwata sanay ditu-ilan sə G-titəḡa?
 help-LOC.ACT.R ANAPH.ERG God while there-3PL.ABS OBL SCM-middle

dagat.
 dagat
 sea

God helped them when they were in the middle of the sea.

30. Miktalū? su Diwata ditu sənilan, "Gamū ḡmika? ḡniu
 miG-talū? su Diwata ditu sənilan gamū G-mika? G-niu
 AG.ACT.R-say ABS God there 3PL.OBL 2PL.ABS SCM-small SCM-2PL.GEN

kpektu?u," bu? migbuat su Diwata, binadləḡən su
 G-pəG-tu?u bu? miG-buat su Diwata badləḡ-in--nə su
 SCM-NMR-believe and AG.ACT.R-rise ABS God rebuke-TH.ACT.R--3S.ERG ABS

ḡenus, bu? mitələn.
 G-ḡenus bu? mi-tələn
 SCM-wind and TH.STAT.R-cease

God told them, "You whose faith is little," and God stood up, He rebuked the wind, and it ceased.

31. Naa miita? ta su ksəmbag nu Diwata
 naa mi-?ita? ta su G-səmbag nu Diwata
 now TH.STAT.R-see 1PL(INC).ERG ABS SCM-answer ANAPH.GEN God

ditu sənilan: su ḡenus binadləḡ nu Diwata,
 ditu sənilan su G-ḡenus badləḡ-in- nu Diwata
 there 3PL.OBL ABS SCM-wind rebuke-TH.ACT.R- ANAPH.ERG God

dayun mitələnini, bu? gilan pidəliagilan
 dayun mi-tələn-ini bu? gilan piG-CV-liag-ilan
 then TH.STAT.R-cease-this and 3PL.ABS AG.ACT.R-REDUP-happy-3PL.ABS

təndəḡ su Diwata mikəgabaḡ ditu sənilan.
 təndəḡ su Diwata mikə-gabaḡ ditu sənilan
 because ABS God AG.ABIL.R-help there 3PL.OBL

Now we see the response of God to them: the Lord rebuked the wind, then it ceased, and they were happy because God was able to help them.

32. Nandaw dii sə nita kətubu? dii sə Diwata,
 nandaw dii sə nita kə-tubu? dii sə Diwata
 now there OBL 1PL(INC).GEN NMR-live there OBL God
- kinəenlan dəma gita məkpegəud tu sə Diwata,
 kinəenlan dəma gita məG-pəgaud ditu sə Diwata
 need also 1PL(INC).ABS AG.ACT.IRR-go.near there OBL God
- dayun kəbaḡanitaan, bu? miita?
 dayun ?abaḡ-an-ita-nə bu? me-?ita?
 then help-TH.ACT.IRR-1PL(INC).ABS-3S.ERG and TH.STAT.IRR-see
- ta su ḡniin nə gə?əm pinita?ən kətu
 ta su G-niin nə gə?əm piN-?ita?-nə kətu
 1PL(INC).ERG ABS SCM-3S.OBL LK power TH.ACT.R-show-3SG.ERG that
- kpanahun kətu.
 G-panahun kətu
 SCM-time that

Now in our lives in God, we also need to draw near to God, then He will help us, and we will see His power (which) He showed at that time.

33. Tiḡali bu? ?ənda? pa piita? nu Diwata su
 tiḡali bu? ?ənda? pa pi-?ita? nu Diwata su
 maybe if NEG.PAST yet TH.ACT.R-show ANAPH.ERG God ABS
- ḡniin gə?əm matayilan na ditu? sə ktitəḡa?
 G-niin gə?əm matay-ilan na ditu? sə G-titəḡa?
 SCM-3S.GEN power die-3PL.ABS already there OBL SCM-middle
- dlaud təndəḡ su Diwata ?ənda? tu sənilan, miita?
 G-lauid təndəḡ su Diwata ?ənda? ditu sənilan mi-?ita?
 SCM-mid.sea because ABS God NEG.PAST there 3PL.OBL TH.STAT.R-see
- ta su Diwata kanunay ditu sənilan, giin sinəppit
 ta su Diwata kanunay ditu sənilan giin saḡpit-in-
 1PL(INC).ERG ABS God always there 3PL.OBL 3S.ABS call-TH.ACT.R-
- nilan, dayun su Diwata miksəmbag sənilan.
 nilan dayun su Diwata miG-səmbag sənilan
 3PL.ERG then ABS God AG.ACT.R-answer 3PL.OBL

Maybe if God had not shown His power, they would have died in the middle of the sea because God was not with them, (but) we see that God was always with them, they called on Him, then God answered them.

34. Nandaw nə ḡa kpatəd ?u diin sə kpəktu?u, unta?
 nandaw nə ḡa G-patəd ?u diin sə G-pəG-tu?u unta?
 now LK PL SCM-sibling 1S.GEN there OBL SCM-NMR-believe how
- dun sa?an kəbagəl su ḡnita nə kpəktu?u
 dun sa?an kə-bagəl su G-nita nə G-pəG-tu?u
 PART INDET NMR-big ABS SCM-1PL(INC).GEN LK SCM-NMR-believe

ditu sə Diwata?
ditu sə Diwata
there OBL God

Now my brothers in the faith, how big is our faith in God?

35. ?unta? dun sa?an nandaw su ɣnita nə kpəg?alagad
?unta? dun sa?an nandaw su G-nita nə G-pəG-?alagad
how PART INDET now ABS SCM-1PL(INC).GEN LK SCM-NMR-serve

tu sə Diwata?
ditu sə Diwata
there OBL God

How is our service to God?

36. Sinapit ta ba sa?an su Diwata ta bu?
sapit-in- ta ba sa?an su Diwata ta bu?
call-TH.ACT.R- 1PL(INC).ERG QUES INDET ABS God 1PL(INC).GEN if

maatəɣ diin sənita su kəlised bu?
m-daətəɣ diin sənita su kə-lised bu?
TH.ACT.IRR-arrive there 1PL(INC).OBL ABS NMR-difficult and

maatəɣ diin sənita su kəgələs nə nita
m-daətəɣ diin sənita su kə-gələs nə G-nita
TH.ACT.IRR-arrive there 1PL(INC).OBL ABS NMR-fear LK SCM-1PL(INC).GEN

kətubu? bu? duma pa sa?an pəɣinə?ənlan ta?
kə-tubu? bu? duma pa sa?an pəɣinə?ənlan ta
NMR-live and other yet INDET need 1PL(INC).GEN

Did we call on our God when difficulty came upon us and fear for our lives came upon us and other needs of ours as well?

37. Pigaudan ta sa?an su ɣnita ɣmətuud
gaud-pi--an ta sa?an su G-nita G-mətuud
near-LOC.ACT.R 1PL(INC).ERG INDET ABS SCM-1PL(INC).GEN SCM-true

nə Ginu?u?
nə Ginu?u
LK Lord

Did we draw near to our true God?

38. ?ay laup pa sə Huan 1:12, "Su gətaw nə
?ay laup pa sə Huan 1:12 su gətaw nə
because according.to EXPR OBL John 1:12 ABS man LK

ɣməktu?u dii səniiin ?əmbaal gbata? nu
G-məG-tu?u dii səniiin mə-baal G-bata? nu
SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-believe there 3S.OBL TH.PASS.IRR-make SCM-child ANAPH.GEN

Diwata tuməndəɣ dinawatən su ɣniin nə
Diwata tuməndəɣ dawət-in--nə su G-niin nə
God because receive-TH.ACT.R--3S.ERG ABS SCM-3S.GEN LK

kpirsunal nə mən'luluas si Hisu Kristu."
 G-pirsunal nə mən'luluas si Hisu Kristu
 SCM-personal LK savior ABS Jesus Christ

Because as written in John 1:12, "The man who believes in Him will become a child of God because he received his personal savior, Jesus Christ."

39. Nandaw guras kia məŋhina?utu ɲmətuud gaid
 nandaw G-ʔuras kia mən-hina?ut-u G-mətuud gaid
 today SCM-time EXPR AG.ACT.IRR-hope-1S.ABS SCM-true INTSF

dinawat nita si Hisu Kristu nita Diwata
 dawat-in- nita si Hisu Kristu nita Diwata
 receive-TH.ACT.R- 1PL(INC).ERG ABS Jesus Christ 1PL(INC).GEN God

bu? tu?uan ta giin bu? giin gaid
 bu? tu?u-an ta giin bu? giin gaid
 and believe-TH.ACT.IRR 1PL(INC).ERG 3S.ABS and 3S.ABS INTSF

məgari? sə nita kpusu.
 məG-gari? sə nita G-pusu
 AG.ACT.IRR-king OBL 1PL(INC).GEN SCM-heart

At this time I hope it is really true we received Jesus Christ our God and we will believe Him and He will really reign in our hearts.

40. Nandaw kəni guras kəni, məŋhina?utu
 nandaw kəni G-ʔuras kəni mən-hina?ut-u
 now this SCM-time this AG.ACT.IRR-hope-1S.ABS

ɲmədləkətuʔita subay sə kpəgbə?ət nə Diwata.
 G-mədlə-kətuʔita subay sə G-peG-bə?ət nə Diwata
 SCM-AG.ACT.IRR-life-1PL(INC).ABS according.to OBL SCM-NMR-will LK God

At this very moment, I hope we will live according to the will of God.

41. Giin ksəligan ta.
 giin G-salig-an ta
 3S.ABS SCM-trust-LOC.ACT.IRR 1PL(INC).ERG

It is Him whom we will trust.

42. Giin nə ksəmpitən ta bu? gita
 giin nə G-səmpit-ən ta bu? gita
 3S.ABS LK SCM-call-TH.ACT.IRR 1PL(INC).ERG if 1PL(INC).ABS

məŋinəənlan.
 məN-kinəənlan
 AG.ACT.IRR-need

It is Him whom we will call upon when we will be in need.

43. Megampu?ita.
 məG-?ampu?-ita
 AG.ACT.IRR-pray-1PL(INC).ABS
 Let us pray.

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Functions of Demonstratives in Sama Bangingi' Expository Discourse

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1. Introduction

Sama Bangingi'¹ provides its speakers with a range of demonstratives, which have a variety of functions. Gault (1986) describes some of the functions that demonstratives perform in narrative discourse. This paper will examine the functions that demonstratives perform in expository discourse.

Expository discourse refers to those texts in which the speaker attempts to explain or to prove a thesis to his audience. In Sama Bangingi' expository texts, functions of demonstratives can be grouped into two general categories: situational functions and discourse functions. A demonstrative has a situational function when it locates an entity in space or time. It has a discourse function when it points to a part of the discourse, tracks participants or locations, 'particularizes' hypothetical participants, or selects local information.

2. Brief overview of Sama Bangingi' clause structure

Sama Bangingi' is a verb-initial language, but basic transitive clauses exhibit variation in word order. The conditions governing the selection of any particular word order are still under investigation.

¹ Sama Bangingi' is a member of the Sama-Bajaw subgroup of western Austronesian (Pallesen, 1985:2-3). Speakers of Sama Bangingi' are found throughout the northern Sulu archipelago and the Zamboanga peninsula in the southwestern Philippines; specifically, in the Samales group of islands east of Jolo, in the coastal areas and islands of Basilan Province, in Zamboanga City, and in coastal areas of Zamboanga del Sur. One estimate puts their number at 15,000.

Research in Sama Bangingi' was carried out by JoAnn Gault and Eunice Diment between 1974 and 1990, and by Gault, Pamela Blakely, and the author between 1992 and 1997, all under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. About 55 texts of various genre have been collected. A dictionary of over 4,000 words has also been compiled, mainly by Gault and Diment.

2.1. Case marking

Case marking in Sama Bangingi' follows an ergative pattern. In (1) and (2) which contain common nouns, S of an intransitive clause and P of a transitive clause have no case marker, while A of the transitive clause is obligatorily marked by *e'*.²

- (1) Pe' dakanak ni sowang.³
 go child DM river
 'The child will go to the river.'
- (2) Pinutuk e' dakanak lubid itu.
 ni=putuk⁴
 TR=cut ERG child rope this
 'The child will cut this rope.'

Personal names are preceded by the marker *si*, whether they are required NPs or obliques. They have the same ergative case marking pattern as common nouns; i.e., S and P have no case marker, while A is preceded by *e'*, as in (3)(4).

- (3) Pe' si Ali ni sowang.
 go PM Ali DM river
 'Ali will go to the river.'
- (4) Pinokpok e' si Ali si Abdul.
 ni=pokpok
 TR=strike ERG PM Ali PM Abdul
 'Ali will strike Abdul.'

² In this paper, S is the required argument of a single argument clause (i.e., an active intransitive, a stative, or a passive clause); A is the more agentive required argument of a transitive clause; and P is the less agentive required argument of a transitive clause.

³ The following orthography is used here for the Sama Bangingi' data. The consonants are: b [b], d [d][r], g [g], h [h], j [d̥ʒ], k [k], l [l][t], m [m], n [n], ng [ŋ], p [p], r [r], s [s], t [t], w [w], y [j], ' [ʔ]. The vowels are: a [a][ʌ], e [e][ɛ], i [i][ɪ], o [o], u [u].

Glottal stop is represented when it occurs between unlike vowels, as in *ba'id* [ba.ʔid] 'take leave' and *to'a* [to.ʔa] 'old'; it is not represented when it occurs between like vowels, as in *sigam* [si.gʌ.ʔam] 3rd person plural, or word-initially, as in *ina'* [ʔinoʔ] 'mother'. Absence of glottal stop between a high vowel and a following low vowel is indicated by a transitional *w* (following *u* or *o*) or *y* (following *i* or *e*), as in *bowa* [bo.a] 'bring' and *niya'* [ni.aʔ] 'there is'. No transitional semi-vowel is written between a low vowel and following high vowel, as in *saupama* [sa.u.pa.ma] 'for example' and *daing* [da.iŋ] 'fish'.

Geminate consonants occur and are represented as a sequence of two identical segments, e.g., *teggol* [tɛg:ol] 'long time'. Lengthened vowels occur in a limited group of roots and are not represented in the orthography used here, e.g., *bang* [ba:ŋ] 'call to prayer' and *se'* [se:ʔ] 'like that'.

⁴ The affix *ni-* has two allomorphs: the prefix *ni-* which occurs before a stem-initial vowel, *l* or *h*, and the infix *-in-* which occurs following all other stem-initial consonants.

Personal pronouns are also marked for case and display an ergative pattern: for a singular third person, S in (5) and P in (6) have the same pronoun, *iya*, while the singular third person A in (7) has a different form, *na*.

- (5) Pe' *iya* ni sowang.
go ABS,3SG DM river
'He will go to the river.'
- (6) Pinokpok *iya* e' si Abdul.
ni-=pokpok
TR=strike ABS,3SG ERG PM Abdul
'Abdul will strike him.'
- (7) Pinokpok e' na si Abdul.
ni-=pokpok
TR=strike ERG ERG,3SG PM Abdul
'He will strike Abdul.'

Table 1 lists all the personal pronouns in Sama Bangingi'.

Table 1. Personal pronouns in Sama Bangingi'

	Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique
Singular			
1	aku	ku	maaku
1+2	kita	ta	makita
2	kaa	nu	makaa
3	iya	na	maiya
Plural			
1	kami	kami	makami
1+2	kitabī	tabi	makitabi
2	kaam	bi	makaam
3	sigaam	sigaam	masigaam

Note 1. For singular pronouns, 1+2 indicates dual number. For plural pronouns, 1 indicates first person exclusive and 1+2 indicates first person inclusive.

Note 2. The oblique set consist of the absolutive set preceded by the oblique marker *ma*.

Ergative pronouns also function as genitive pronouns (8).

- (8) Patekang manga danakan-ku niriyata' bangka sigaam.
 pa-=tekang danakan=-ku ni-=diyata'
 MO=step PL sibling=GEN,1SG DM=top boat GEN,3PL

'My siblings will step onto their boat.'

Absolutive pronouns may function as marked pronouns, occurring in a sentence-initial position as fronted NPs (9) and as heads of constructions such as cleft constructions (10).

- (9) Kaam-u, senggahan palantaman-bi mau?
 kaam=-u palantaman=-bi
 ABS,2PL=that how situation=GEN,2PL there

'As for you, how is your situation there?'

- (10) Aku ya kenollo' agtambal.
 ni-=kollo' ag-=tambal
 ABS,1SG DET TR=fetch AP=treat

'I was the one fetched to treat (the sick person).'

2.2. Verb affixes

Verb affixes distinguish two aspects and three modes. The two aspects are single aspect and distributive aspect. Single aspect indicates actions which are viewed as being accomplished once by one agent or group of agents acting together, while distributive aspect indicates action viewed as being repeated, or carried out reciprocally by more than one agent.

The three modes are simple, transitive and abilitative. Simple mode is the unaffixed form of the verb. It implies intention on the part of S or A, which must be an overt cliticized pronoun, and it tends to be limited to dialogue. The action is not necessarily accomplished. Transitive mode likewise implies intention without necessarily accomplishment, but S or A may be a NP or a pronoun, which need not be overt. Abilitative mode indicates that the action was accomplished or is able to be accomplished but not necessarily intended. Verbal affixes signaling these aspects and modes are given in Table 2. Aspects and modes for which no corresponding affix has yet been identified are indicated by an asterisk (*).

Table 2. Verbal affixes in Sama Bangingi'

	Single aspect			Distributive aspect ⁵		
	Simple	Transitive	Abilitative	Simple	Transitive	Abilitative
AG	aN-	*	maka-	(m)ag-	*	makapag-
PAT	Ø/-an	ni-(-an)	ta-	pag-(-an)	pinag-(-an)	tapag-
LOC/BEN	-an	ni--an	*	*	*	*
INST	paN-	pinaN-	tapaN-	pag-	*	*

3. Deictics

Sama Bangingi' has five types of deictics: demonstrative 1 deictics, demonstrative 2 deictics, locatives, goals and sources. These deictics distinguish four spatial orientations, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Deictics in Sama Bangingi'

Spatial orientation	Near speaker	Near hearer	Near distant	Remote
Demonstrative 1	itu	ilu/-u	inaan	ele'/-e'
Demonstrative 2	saitu	sau	sainaan	sae'/se'
Locative	mintu	mau	minnaan	me'
Goal	paitu	pau	painaan	pe'
Source	mini(n)tu	milluun	mininaan	melleen

Demonstrative 1 deictics are the basic set. They function most commonly as modifiers in NPs (11) (12).

- (11) Masayyan libru itu?
 ma-=sayyan
 OBL=who book this
 'Whose is this book?'

- (12) Bay ginuling daing inaan ma lamesahan.
 ni-=guling
 CMP TR=sauté fish that OBL table
 'That fish on the table has been sautéed.'

⁵ The following distributive affixes are composite forms, consisting of pag- 'distributive' and another affix.

aN-	+	pag-	→	amag-	(shortens to mag- or ag-)
-in-	+	pag-	→	pinag-	
maka-	+	pag-	→	makapag-	
ta-	+	pag-	→	tapag-	

The near-hearer demonstrative *ilu* and the remote demonstrative *ele'* have clitic counterparts, *-u* and *-e'* respectively, that also modify NPs (13)(14).

- (13) *Paindamin* *aku* *laring-u.*
 pa = indam = -in *laring* = -u
 CA = lend = IMP ABS, 1SG knife = that
 'Lend me that knife.'

- (14) *Pe'* *aku* *angollo'* *manga* *badju'-e'.*
 aN = kollo' *badju'* = -e'
 go ABS, 1SG AP = fetch PL garment = those
 'I'll go fetch those clothes.'

The full forms of demonstrative 1 deictics are phonologically independent words and function as predicates in nonverbal clauses. As predicates, demonstrative 1 deictics may identify an entity in which case they function as demonstratives (15)(16), or they may locate an entity in which case they function as locatives (17)(18). The meaning of *ilu* in (19) is ambiguous: it may be interpreted as either a demonstrative or a locative.⁶

- (15) *Itu* *handa-ku.*
 handa = -ku
 this wife = GEN, 1SG
 'This is my wife.'
- (16) *Itu* *manga* *danakan* *kami.*
 here PL sibling GEN, 1PL
 'These are our siblings.'
- (17) *Itu* *aku* *mareyom* *bilik.*
 ma = deyom
 here ABS, 1SG OBL = inside room
 'I am here in the bedroom.'
- (18) *Ele'* *sigam* *ma* *tianggi.*
 there 3PL OBL market
 'They are there at the market.'
- (19) *Ilū* *siyali-ku* *ma* *patta-u.*
 siyali = -ku *patta* = -u
 that younger.sibling = GEN, 1SG OBL picture = that
 'That is my younger sibling in that picture.' or
 'There is my younger sibling in that picture.'

⁶ Strictly-speaking 'demonstrative' is not the correct label for this set since its full forms can function as either demonstratives or locatives when they occur in the predicates of nonverbal clauses. In this paper, however, we are concerned only with the identificational function of this set and so will use the label 'demonstrative' to refer to it hereafter.

From the four basic forms in the demonstrative 1 set can be derived four other sets of deictics: demonstrative 2, locative, goal, and source. These sets are composed of the demonstrative 1 full forms prefixed by *sa-*, *ma-*, *pa-* or *min-*.

Demonstrative 2 deictics are a marked, or less common, set of demonstratives and may be used in place of demonstrative 1 deictics (21).

- (20) Ayyan *itu* — *elo?*
 what this snow
 'What is this — snow?'

- (21) Duma'in, *umus sau.*
 no sand that
 'No, that's sand.'

Demonstrative 2 deictics also have a comparative function, comparing some other entity or proposition with the one indicated by the demonstrative 2 deictic, as in (22) and (23).

- (22) Duma'in bang anak tabi, bang pag'amahan tabi
 not CND child GEN,1+2PL CND pag--an=ama
 NMLZ=scold ERG,1+2PL
 anangis, tinaw kitabi ma tangis-na.
 aN=tangis ni=taw tangis=-na
 INT=weep TR=fear ABS,1+2PL OBL weep =GEN,3SG
 'It should not be that when we scold our children and they cry, that we are afraid of their crying.'
- (23) Duma'in *se'* iya lasa-in.
 not like.that DET love=-in
 'Love is not like that.'

Locative deictics function as adverbs (24)–(26).

- (24) Ele' sigaam *me'*.
 there 3PL there
 'There they are there.'
- (25) Ele' sigaam *me'* ma tianggi.
 there 3PL there OBL market
 'There they are there at the market.'
- (26) Ahap palantaman kami *mintu* ma Taluksangay.
 a=hap
 DSC=good situation GEN,1PL here OBL Taluksangay
 'Our situation here in Taluksangay is good.'

Islam, agama sabannal, sampay ma allaw itu.
 Islam religion true up.to OBL day this

'They did not take away their religion, the Islamic religion, the true religion, even until today.'

- (36) Na si mbo' Imam Undik-e', iya ele' nakura' ma tana'
 Undik=-e'
 DP PM grandparent imam Undik=that DET there leader OBL land

Bangingi' masa-e'.
 masa=-e'
 Bangingi' time=that

'Now Grandfather Undik the priest, he was a leader in the land of the early Bangingi.'

On the other hand, *inaan* 'that' (near distant) indicates near past time (37), while *-u* 'that' (near hearer) indicates near future time (38).

- (37) Isnin palabay inaan katakka-ku.
 pa-=labay ka-=takka=-ku
 Monday MO=pass that NMLZ=arrive=GEN,1SG

'My arrival was on Monday past.'

- (38) Isnin-u pe' aku ni Sambuwangan.
 Isnin=-u
 Monday=that go ABS,1SG DM Zamboanga

'I will go to Zamboanga on Monday.'

Among ten temporal usages in the corpus, there are eight occurrences of *-e* 'that' (remote time), one each of *itu* 'this' (present time) and *-u* 'that' (near future), and no occurrences of *inaan* 'that' (near future).

5.3. Significance of marking with a demonstrative on first mention

Although participants whose identity is accessible to the hearer may be marked with a demonstrative on first mention, many such referents are not marked this way. Specifically, out of 40 first mentions of accessible participants, props, or locations, 27 did not occur with a demonstrative.

Nor is the marking of referents with a demonstrative on first mention reserved for major participants, props, or locations. On the contrary, out of 13 referents marked this way, 10 are not mentioned again. The three remaining referents do, however, turn out to be prominent in the texts in which they occur, in that each is central to the development of a lower-level theme through two successive paragraphs. In all three cases, prominence is indicated by their occurrence in a sentence-initial NP, but in two of the three cases, the prominent role of the referent takes place some time after its first mention. In only one case, namely *Imam Undik* in (36) above, does a demonstrative mark on first mention a major referent that immediately has a prominent role in the discourse.

At this point one may wonder how major participants are introduced in Sama Bangingi' discourse. Participants are commonly introduced in three ways: presentation in

an existential clause (39), mention in an appositional NP preceded by *iya na* 'that is' (40), and mention in a sentence-initial NP (41).

(39) Existential clause

Bang isab [aniya' aa benowa'bowaan e' na
 a=-niya' ni-=dup=bowa'=-an
 CND also DSC=there.is person TR=??=mouth=?? ERG ERG,3SG
 anak aa budjang, atawa handa aa ma insa' bannal,]
 child person maiden or wife person OBL not true
 subay sina' maka teno'an ma mairan.
 ni-=sa' ni-=to'=-an
 must TR=fine and TR=teach=?? OBL public

'Also if there is a person who is slandering someone's unmarried daughter, or someone's wife, he must be fined and rebuked in public.'

(40) Appositional NP

Na ma Suk-e' manga kampung kami asekot ni kami, [iya na
 Suk=-e' a=sekot
 DP OBL Jolo=that PL relative GEN,1PL DSC=near DM 1PL DET PRT
 manga Tulawi.]
 PL Tulawi

'Now in Jolo are our close relatives, the Tulawis.'

(41) Sentence-initial NP

[Manga Ubian na] me' ma tong-tong-e'.
 dup=tong=-e'
 PL Ubian DP there OBL ??=point=that

'The Ubian people now were there at the point.'

Among participants so introduced, major participants may be identified by their persistence in the text. They are tracked with pronouns or a zero anaphor if there is no interruption in the discourse, and by a full NP if the presence of another participant could cause ambiguity. In some cases, demonstratives are used to track participants. This usage will be examined in the next section, along with the other discourse functions of demonstratives.

6. Discourse function of demonstratives in expository discourse

Demonstratives perform four discourse functions: discourse deixis, tracking, 'particularizing' a hypothetical participant, and selecting local information.

6.1. Discourse deixis

A demonstrative has a discourse deixis function when it points to an adjacent discourse segment (Himmelman 1996:224). If the demonstrative points forward, it has a presentation function; if it points backward, it has a summarizing function.

6.1.1. Presentation

A demonstrative has a presentation function when it occurs in a sentence in which the speaker states his theme; i.e., what he is going to talk about. There are seven occurrences of such forward-pointing uses of demonstratives, all of them *itu* 'this' (near-speaker) occurring as the predicate of a nonverbal clause. Of these seven, four introduce a theme in the initial sentence of the text and three reintroduce the theme later in the text. In fact, *itu* 'this' is the only demonstrative which can point forward to subsequent information, as in (42) and (43).

- (42) *Itu paggallal Imam, Hatib maka Bilal.*
 pag-=gallal
 this NMLZ=position imam leader and assistant.imam
 'This is (about) the positions of Imam, Hatib and Bilal.'

- (43) Na ya buwattitu ya itu adji'an kami itu pasal manga
 DP DET now DET this study=NMLZ GEN,1PL this about PL
 addat kaulpiil manga aa, ahap maka alat.
 custom words.and.actions PL person DSC=good and DSC=bad
 'Now this is our lesson about the customs of people, good and bad.'

6.1.2. Summarization

A demonstrative has a summarizing function when it occurs in a sentence which briefly restates what has been said. In six instances, *itu* 'this' (near speaker) summarizes preceding material, referring either to the theme or to what has been said about it, as in (44) and (45).

- (44) Na bang itu sali' na bay bissara-ku,
 DP CND this like PRT CMP talk=ERG,1SG
 bissara=-ku
 lella maka renda maglakibini agtabang-tabang.
 man and woman couple ag-=dup=tabang
 INT.D=??=help
 'Now if these (roles of men and women) are like what I have said, men and women as couples help one another.'

ilu iya pamemeyaan sin manga aa.
 that DET leader GEN PL person

'(To have) these three positions, regardless of who has been invested with the position, is the same as telling the people that those invested with these positions are leaders of the people.'

- (48) In hukuman itu ma manga budjang, hap insa'
 hukum=-an
 NM judge=NMLZ this OBL PL maiden good not

kabowa'bowaan.
 ka--an=dup=bowa'
 ??--??= ??=mouth

'Regarding these judgments about young unmarried girls, it is good if she is not talked about because of her questionable activities.'

In another text, the second speaker presents the theme, the Bangingi' people, at the beginning. Then later in the text, the speaker feels that it is necessary to restate the theme in two successive sentences (49)(50).

- (49) Na itu pasal sin Bangingi'.
 DP this about PRT Bangingi'

'Now this is about the Bangingi'.'

- (50) In Bangingi' itu Sama.
 NM Bangingi' this Sama

'These Bangingi' are Sama.'

In two more texts, the third speaker reidentifies a major participant (51) or prop (52) that is central to the development of the theme. In each text, the reidentification occurs just after the initial presentation of the theme. Sentence (51) is taken from a text in which the theme is the habits of good and bad people; (52) is taken from a text in which the theme is certain techniques employed by traditional healers.

- (51) Aa ahap itu, kata'uhan ta ahap iya
 a-=hap ka--an=ta'u a-=hap
 person DSC=good this ??--??=know ERG,1+2SG DSC=good ABS,3SG

pasal ingga'i atuwas kok-na.
 a-=tuwas kok=-na
 because not DSC=hard head=GEN,3SG

'This good person, we know that he is good because he is not hard-headed.'

- (52) Na tawal itu, hati-na ya duwaa binassa e' aa
 hati=-na ni=-bassa
 DP charm this meaning=GEN,3SG DET prayer TR=read ERG person

- (55) Kaukaki-u, sali' taga parasahan parasahan sigaam-u.
 dup=kaki=-u sigaam=-u
 ??=cousin=that like has conditions conditions 3PL=that

'Those cousins, it is like they (enjoyed) some comfort.'

It is not always clear why sometimes -u 'that' (near hearer) is chosen for tracking and sometimes -e' 'that' (remote). Perhaps it simply carries over from the degree of distance which the demonstratives indicate in situational usages. In (55) above, it may be that the speaker perceives her cousins as being somehow less remote than those referents for which she employs -e' 'that'. In any case, once a participant has been either identified or located with a particular demonstrative, it will tend to be subsequently tracked with the same demonstrative.

6.2.3. Use of the near-distant demonstrative inaan

At this point, a comment should be made concerning *inaan* 'that' (near distant). This demonstrative is used less often as a tracking device than -u 'that' (near hearer) or -e' 'that' (remote). The corpus contains only four instances in which *inaan* 'that' appears to have a tracking function, too few to enable any conclusions to be drawn. One of the four refers to a nominalized verb, a rare usage in itself (56).

- (56) Sali' iyuk, kami, pamangmangan, takakan-kakan dakuman inaan.
 paN-=dup=mangan ta-=dup=kakan
 like say 1PL NMLZ=??=eat ABL.TR=??=eat just that

'It's like, we say, eating a little, that's just snacking.'

The other three occurrences of *inaan* 'that' (near distant) are found in two successive sentences in a text. Here, *inaan* 'that' marks two participants who are subsequently marked with -u 'that' (near hearer), an exception to the usual pattern of using the same demonstrative to track a participant. The two sentences are extremely disjointed as the speaker breaks off from what the prospective bridegroom's father is about to say to give the two protagonists' names (57)(58).

- (57) Iya hilling — mma' lella inaan, iyuk ta si Abdul;
 DET saying father man that said ERG,1+2SG PM Abdul

ya mma' denda inaan, iyuk ta si Mohammad.
 DET father woman that said ERG,1+2SG PM Mohammad

'What (he) says — that man's father, let's call him Abdul; that woman's father, let's call him Mohammad.'

- (58) Iyuk mma' lella inaan nionan si Abdul — pe' ni si
 said father man that TR=name=?? PM Abdul go DM PM

Mohammad.
 Mohammad

'The man's father called Abdul says — he goes to Mohammad.'

After the pauses in these sentences to name the characters, what Abdul has to say to Mohammad finally gets reported in the next sentence. It seems unlikely that the halting nature of the speech at this point is connected with the choice of *inaan* 'that' (near distant), but what might be significant is the abrupt switching between participants. In fact, the sentence preceding these two ends with a mention of the girl's father, so there are actually three very sudden switches of participant reference from her father to the boy's father to her father to his father again.

7. Particularizing a hypothetical participant

Occasionally one or more hypothetical participants are presented as a particular case and marked with *ilu* 'that' (near hearer). For example, in a text about how leaders are chosen, an example is given of a leader who has a wife and son whose behaviour may reflect badly on him. The particular leader is mentioned for the first time as the possessor in a genitive NP and is marked with *ilu* (60). (Sentence (59) which precedes (60) in the text is given to provide the context.)

- (59) In paggallal atawa in paghinang pagbebayaan mintu ma
 pag.=gallal pag.=hinang
 NM NMLZ=position or NM NMLZ=make leader here OBL

kami kenollo' min kabayaan sin kahemon manusiya', iya
 ni.=kollo'
 1PL TR=take SM desire GEN all people DET

aglahat ma lahat ilu.
 ag.=lahat
 INT.D=place OBL place that

'The making or empowering of a leader here among us is taken from the consent of all the people, the ones residing in that place.'

- (60) Mintu ma kami, bang in handa sin pagbebayaan ilu ngga'i
 here OBL 1PL CND NM wife GEN leader that not

agmaltabat, ngga'i isab pinagmamaltabatan.
 ag.=maltabat pinag--an=dup=maltabat
 AP.D=respect not also TR.D=?=respect

'Here among us, if the wife of that leader does not show respect, she is also not shown respect.'

After being marked with *ilu* 'that' in this way, a particularized participant continues to be tracked with *ilu* whenever it appears as a full NP until the speaker switches to a different theme.

It is possible for more than one participant in a text to be particularized in this way, though not simultaneously. In another illustration in the same text about leaders, a second participant in the illustration, a former leader in the community, is selected immediately upon the exit of the first, who is his grandson. The leader and his grandson are part of the same scenario, and the leader is tracked with *ele* 'that' (remote). This is the only occurrence of *ele* as a tracking device in the corpus. The two sentences describing these events are

successive, and both the grandchild and the grandfather have already been introduced. One assumes that the leader is marked with *ele* 'that' in (62) in order to distinguish him from his grandson, who is marked with *ilu* 'that' (near hearer) in (61). The choice of *ele* 'that', the more distant deictic, would seem to be an appropriate choice for tracking the older participant, who is also deceased.

- (61) Sumaguwa' bang isab in anak atawa mpu *ilu* sali' da
 however CND also NM child or grandchild that like PRT
- hap mma'-na, atawa mbo'-na....
 mma'=-na mbo'=-na
 good father=GEN,3SG or grandparent=GEN,3SG
- 'However if that child or grandchild resembles the goodness of his father or his grandfather....'

- (62) Manjari bang saupama insa' niya' tapene' anak
 so.then CND for.example not there.is ABL.TR=choose child
- atawa mpu sin bay pagbebeyaan *ele*'....
 or grandchild GEN CMP leader that
- 'So then if for example there is no eligible child or grandchild of that former leader....'

8. Selection of local information

A fourth discourse function of demonstratives is that of selecting information of local, or only minor, importance for comment. Only one speaker out of the five employs this function, and does so on only four occasions. For example in (63), the speaker mentions the word *linggis* 'linguistics' and then the next sentence (64), he selects it by repeating it in a sentence-initial NP marked with *itu* 'this' in order to define it.

- (63) Sigaam itu, assigned sigaam ma linggis.
 3PL this assigned 3PL OBL linguistics
- 'These (ones), they have been assigned to linguistics.'
- (64) Linggis itu pasal bahasa.
 linguistics this about language
- 'This linguistics is about language.'

Three of the entities selected in this way promptly disappear after being commented upon, but one is more persistent, namely Zamboanga City, the place where the speaker is located at the time he was giving the speech. Sentences (65)–(68) are those in which Zamboanga is mentioned. Sentence (65) contains the first mention of Zamboanga in the sequence. In (66), Zamboanga is mentioned in a sentence-initial NP and marked with *itu* 'this'. In (67) and (68), each subsequent mention is also marked by *itu* 'this'. This suggests that the selection function is probably accomplished in the second mention of Zamboanga, and that in each subsequent occurrence, *itu* 'this' has a tracking function. However, since

Zamboanga is an actual site, it is also possible that *itu* has a situational function in these subsequent occurrences.

- (65) Sigaam iya raja iya bang mintu ma Sambuwangan.
3PL DET king DET CND here OBL Zamboanga

'They are the Raja (that is, well-known) here in Zamboanga.'

- (66) Sambuwangan *itu* duma'in paglahatan, duma'in.
Zamboanga this not pag--an=lahat
LOC.D=place no

'This Zamboanga was not a place where (Muslims) lived, no.'

- (67) Insa' niya' lagi' Sambuwangan *itu*.
not there.is yet Zamboanga this

'There was not yet any Zamboanga (i.e., Muslims).'

- (68) Iya lahat amehe mintu ma Sambuwangan *itu* iya na Tabtabon.
DET place a=mehe DSC=big here OBL Zamboanga this DET PRT Tabtabon

'The largest (Muslim) community in Zamboanga here was Tabtabon.'

9. Summary

Sama Bangingi' has four demonstratives that perform a range of functions in expository discourse. These demonstratives are: *itu* 'this' (near speaker), *ilu/-u* 'that' (near hearer), *inaan* 'that' (near distant) and *ele'/-e'* 'that' (remote). In Sama Bangingi' expository discourse, these demonstratives perform two general functions: situational and discourse. The situational function involves locating entities in space or time. The discourse function involves presenting and summarizing themes; tracking themes and major participants, props, and locations; particularizing hypothetical participants; and selecting local information.

The situational function most typically employs either *itu* 'this' (near speaker) or *-e'* 'that' (remote). *Itu* 'this' locates participants or locations as spatially near, while *-e'* 'that' locates participants or locations as spatially remote, or participants as temporally remote.

The discourse functions, on the other hand, employ a greater variety of demonstratives. *Itu* 'this' presents and summarizes themes, restates and subsequently tracks global themes and selects local information. The clitics *-u* 'that' (near hearer) and *-e'* 'that' (remote) track participants, unless they have been marked previously with *itu* 'this' (near speaker) or *ilu* 'that' (near hearer) for another reason, in which case the participants will continue to be tracked by *itu* or *ilu*. Finally, *ilu* 'that' (near hearer) particularizes a hypothetical participant used for the purpose of illustrating a theme.

Appendix 1

Of the twelve texts used for this study, six were written by the same speaker, Mr. Sulaiman Barhama, and are listed below.

Title

1. The appointment of a leader
2. Divorce
3. Appropriate judgments when a woman is molested
4. Appropriate judgments when a girl obliges a man to marry her
5. The resolution of conflicts
6. The investment of religious officials

Six additional texts were delivered as oral texts by four other speakers and then transcribed. The texts and their speakers are:

Title

Speaker

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. The origins, ethos and current situation of the Bangingi' people | Mr. Abubakar Ballaho |
| 2. The means of livelihood on Panigayan | Miss Fatima Barhama |
| 3. Arranging a marriage | Imam Abdurahim Muluk |
| 4. Roles of men and women in Bangingi' society | Miss Attica Timbang |
| 5. Habits of good and bad people | Miss Attica Timbang |
| 6. Some methods used by traditional healers | Miss Attica Timbang |

Appendix 2

Table 4 gives the distribution of demonstrative 1 deictics in Sama Bangingi' expository texts by function—situational and discourse, and by type of expository text—those concerned with real referents, i.e., participants, props, and locations, and those concerned with hypothetical referents. Numbers in the first and third columns are for demonstratives found in 197 sentences in two texts discussing mainly real referents; those in the second and fourth columns are for demonstratives found in 229 sentences in ten texts discussing mainly hypothetical referents.

Table 4. Distribution of demonstrative 1 deictics in Sama Bangingi' expository texts

	Situational function		Discourse function		Total
	Real referents	Hypothetical referents	Real referents	Hypothetical referents	
itu	16	2	29	12	59
ilu	2	0	3	22	27
-u	2	1	13	8	24
inaan	0	0	1	3	4
ele'	0	0	1	4	5
-e'	19	1	13	13	46
Total	39	4	60	62	165

Abbreviations

A	more agentive required argument of a transitive clause	INT	intransitive
ABL	abilitative/non-volitional	LOC	location, locative
ABS	absolutive	MO	motion
AG	agent	NM	nominal marker
AP	antipassive	NMLZ	nominalizer
BEN	beneficiary	OBL	oblique
CA	causative	P	less agentive required argument of a transitive clause
CMP	completive	PAT	patient
CND	conditional	PL	plural
COL	collective	PM	person marker
D	distributive	PRT	particle
DET	determiner	RF	reference
DM	direction marker	S	single required argument of an intransitive clause
DP	discourse particle	SG	singular
DSC	descriptive	SM	source marker
dup	reduplicated segment	TR	transitive
ERG	ergative	1PL	first person plural exclusive
GEN	genitive	1 + 2PL	first person plural inclusive
IMP	imperative	??	function not yet determined
INST	instrument		

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A Brief Look at Sinama Basic Verbs and Clause Structures

Kristi Drake

1. Introduction

In this paper, a class of 'basic' verbs is proposed for Sinama, a language of the Sulu archipelago of the Southern Philippines.¹ Basic verbs are defined as those roots that may function as verbs without affixation. Sinama clause core structure and clause types, as they relate to verbal morphology, are examined. It is shown that basic verbs produce only two distinct clause types: transitive and intransitive. The verbal affix *-an* is explored as a means of demonstrating how basic transitive and intransitive clause types serve as the basis from which other clause types may be derived through overt verbal affixation. Finally, the clause types illustrated in the paper are ranked as to their relative degrees of transitivity.

The focus system analysis commonly used in reference to Philippine languages² has been avoided in this study; instead, processes occurring in the Sinama clause core are examined in terms of components and grammatical slots which make up the clause core.

The analysis of Sinama presented in this paper is based on the presupposition that Sinama is an ergative language. Ergativity, therefore, is an underlying theme for all proposals made here regarding the language. Transitivity is also treated as a significant factor in the language, and explored as to its ramifications for the study of the Sinama clause core.

¹ Sinama is one of the Sama-Bajaw languages belonging to the Hesperonesian subgroup of Austronesian languages (Pallesen 1985:1). There are several dialects of Sinama spoken in various locations in the Southern Philippines and in Sabah, Malaysia. (Walton (1986:1) says 11 or more.) They vary significantly in their grammar. This paper represents the dialect of Sinama spoken on Bongao and Sanga-Sanga Islands in Tawi-Tawi province. In this paper, the term 'Sinama' should be understood to refer only to this dialect of Sinama.

This paper was written during a grammar workshop conducted in the Philippines by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in August and September of 1993. The analysis presented here is based on texts and elicited materials gathered during six years of research in the Sinama language, as well as a practical working knowledge of the language acquired over those years. I am indebted to JoAnn Gault for patiently guiding me step by step in the production of this paper. I also wish to thank Rudy Barlaan, Alan Healey, Howard McKaughan and Stephen Quakenbush, all of whom made helpful suggestions.

² See, for example, Pallesen 1973.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Language universals

Language is a form-meaning composite (Pike 1967:63; Pike and Pike 1982:4). Grammar deals with the form a language uses to express meaning. Semantics deals with the meaning of language. The formal characteristics of a language are those which are most language specific. The meaning level of language is where many universal characteristics of language are found.

The study of a language should not be viewed as an attempt to take a language 'grid' of a universal nature and tuck all of the data from a specific language in their appropriate pigeon holes. Rather, our knowledge of language universals should act as a tool for discovering and describing the unique internal patterns to be found within a specific language. In this brief look at Sinama basic verbs, I move away from the traditional focus system analysis towards an ergative analysis, taking an eclectic approach in describing certain clause structures.

2.2. Transitivity

Transitivity is a universal characteristic of language. It is the property of a clause as a whole which relates to an activity being 'transferred' from an agent to a patient (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251). In looking at Sinama verbs, it will be helpful to consider the transitivity of the clauses in which they occur.

Dixon (1979) has proposed a set of semantic-syntactic primitives, S, A and O, which will be of help in examining this process of action transfer. The term S corresponds to the subject of an intransitive clause; A corresponds to the subject of a transitive clause; and O corresponds to the object of a transitive clause. Dixon claims for these semantic-syntactic primitives the status of universal core categories. He further states that "...syntactic rules in every grammar are framed in terms of them..." (1979:102).

2.3. Ergativity

The semantic-syntactic primitives are also useful in understanding the system of morphological case marking used in a language. In nominative-accusative languages, S and A are treated alike and marked as nominative case (NOM); O is treated differently and marked as accusative case (ACC). In ergative languages, S and O are treated alike and marked as absolutive case (ABS); A is treated differently and marked as ergative case (ERG).

Sentences (1)–(3) illustrate nominative-accusative case marking in English.

- (1) S V
 I laugh.
- (2) A V O
 I see him.
- (3) A V O
 He sees me.

Notice that S in (1) is a nominative pronoun (1s), and A in both (2) and (3) is a nominative pronoun (1s and 3s respectively), while O in (2) and (3) is an accusative pronoun (3s and 1s respectively). Thus S and A are marked alike (nominative), but O is marked differently (accusative).

Sentences (4)–(6) illustrate ergative-absolutive case marking in Sinama.

- (4) V S
Sittowa aku.
laugh 1s.ABS

'I laugh.'

- (5) V A O
Sampak -nu aku.
slap -2s.ERG 1s.ABS

'You slap me.'

- (6) V A O
Sampak -ku kow.
slap -1s.ERG 2s.ABS

'I slap you.'

In (4) S is an absolutive pronoun (1s), and in (5) and (6) O is also an absolutive pronoun (1s and 2s respectively); however, A in (5) and (6) is an ergative pronoun (2s and 1s respectively). So S and O are marked alike (absolutive), but A is marked differently (ergative).

The term 'subject' is often associated with a grouping of S and A on the grammatical level; however, for ergative languages which group S and O on the grammatical level, the term subject is problematic. For the purposes of this paper, the term subject will be avoided; instead, I will use Dixon's term 'pivot' (1979:59–60) to refer to the surface category grouping S and O.³

3. Basic verbs and clause structures in Sinama

Sinama verbs can be divided into two broad classes. The first and largest class consists of verbs which can occur without affixation.⁴ This is not to say that these verbs never occur with overt affixation, but only that they function as verbs even when they are unaffixed. Since these verbs are less complicated morphologically, they are labeled 'basic' verbs. It is this verb class which is the focus of this paper. The smaller second class consists of the verbs which must have overt affixes (e.g. *ni-*, *N-*, *pa-* or *-an*) in order to function as verbs. This second class, the non-basic verbs, will not be dealt with in this paper.

³ See also Foley and Van Valin (1984:110 and 1985) for more detailed discussions of the term 'pivot'. They define pivot as follows: "A pivot is any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target" (Foley and Van Valin 1985:305).

⁴ In general, when I talk about verbs having no affixation, I am not disallowing the inflectional affixes, *ta-* and *pag-* which mark abilitative and aspect, respectively.

Basic verbs can be divided into two subclasses based on the clause structure which results when the unaffixed form of these verbs is used. Sentences (4) and (5) above illustrate these two verb subclasses and their respective clause structures. Both sentences use the unaffixed form of the verb. The verb of (4), *sittowa* 'laugh', occurs in a VS clause, a 'basic intransitive' clause. The verb of (5), *sampak* 'slap', occurs in a VAO clause, a 'basic transitive' clause.

What has been described above as 'clause structure' would be more accurately termed 'clause core structure'. For the purposes of this paper, a Sinama clause core is defined as the part of a clause which contains the verb and all its NP arguments which are not marked by a preposition. Since we are dealing here only with clause cores, the term 'clause structure' should be understood to refer only to the structure of the clause core.

The point to note here is that unaffixed basic verbs always produce one of the two basic clause structures, VS or VAO.⁵ To produce any other type of clause, basic verbs must take overt affixation. For this reason, the unaffixed form of a basic verb will be referred to as its most basic form.

The nature of basic verbs, which are thus limited in their transitivity, may indicate that transitivity is particularly significant in Sinama. Therefore, transitive and intransitive verbs are considered separately in the discussion which follows.

3.1. Basic transitive clauses

Basic transitive clauses have a VAO structure, as shown in (7)–(9).

- (7) V A O
 Hinang -ku bangbáng.
 make -1s.ERG cookies
 'I will make the cookies.'
- (8) V A O
 Bowa -ku intallo (ni lumah).
 bring -1s.ERG eggs (to house)
 'I will bring the eggs (to the house).'
- (9) V A O
 Adjal -na dayng.
 cook -3s.ERG fish
 'He will cook the fish.'

Each sentence in (7)–(9) has an A and an O argument. The A argument is a clitic pronoun. The O argument undergoes the action of the verb; that is, it is directly affected by the action.

⁵ In the case of basic transitive verbs, abilitative affixation (*ta-*) makes the A argument optional, whereas it is obligatorily present as a clitic pronoun in the unaffixed verb form.

3.2. Basic intransitive clauses

Basic intransitive clauses have a VS structure, as illustrated by (10) and (11).

- (10) V S
 Sittowa aku.
 laugh 1s.ABS
 'I laugh.'

- (11) V S
 Bahak aku.
 lie.down 1s.ABS
 'I lie down.'

The S argument, as the single NP of an intransitive, has an 'actor'-like quality, but in ergative languages S and O are marked alike as absolutes. So S is treated grammatically the same as O. In a sense, S could be said to function as both A and O in that it both performs and undergoes the action of the verb.

3.3. Clause slots

The clause core can be analyzed structurally as a frame containing a limited number of empty grammatical slots. A basic transitive clause contains three components which potentially fill three separate grammatical slots. These three components are VAO. In labeling these three slots, traditional grammatical terms might be misleading, so we will follow Dixon here. The verb slot is filled by a basic transitive verb. The slot filled by A is labeled 'ergative', since only ergative NPs can occur in this slot. The slot filled by O is labeled 'pivot'. So then, the three slots of a basic transitive clause core are: verb, ergative, and pivot. This structure is illustrated in (12)–(14).

- | | VERB | ERG | PIVOT | |
|------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (12) | Hinang
make | -ku
-1s.ERG | bangbáng.
cookies | 'I will make the cookies.' |
| (13) | Bowa
bring | -ku
-1s.ERG | intallo.
eggs | 'I will bring the eggs.' |
| (14) | Adjal
cook | -na
-3s.ERG | dayng.
fish | 'He will cook the fish.' |

A basic intransitive clause has only two components, VS, which potentially fill two grammatical slots, verb and pivot. The verb slot is filled by a basic intransitive verb and the pivot slot is filled by S. This structure is shown in (15) and (16). Notice that the ergative slot remains empty.

	VERB	ERG	PIVOT	
(15)	Sittowa laugh		aku. 1s.ABS	'I laugh.'
(16)	Bahak lie.down		aku. 1s.ABS	'I lie down.'

4. The affix *-an*

The structure of a clause can be affected by adding the affix *-an* to a basic verb. The affix *-an* is sometimes problematic. Consider (17) and (18).

- (17) Isi -ku gih boheh ni diyalom galun.
fill -1s.ERG yet water to inside container

'I will put the water in the container.'

- (18) Isi-an -ku gih galun boheh.
fill-AFF -1s.ERG yet container water

'I will fill the container with water.'

To a native English speaker, the two sentences seem to have somewhat different meanings: to put something (into a container)(17), and to fill a container (with something)(18). In English, we must use two different verbs to express these actions; however, in Sinama, a single verb expresses both actions. How can we account for this kind of flexibility in the verb?

One answer would be to view it through a traditional focus system analysis. Briefly, the focus system may be described as a system in which morphological marking on the verb cross-references one of the arguments of the verb. The verb occurs with an affix which signals a certain semantic role as being of particular relevance to its action. A specific NP is overtly marked to indicate that it is the argument being cross-referenced by the verb (and which therefore carries the semantic role indicated by the verb affix).

Some linguists have noted that Philippine languages may be viewed as varying in the degree of intensity of their focus marking systems.⁶ For example, languages which have obligatory morphological marking on all NPs could be considered 'strong' focus marking languages. On the other hand, languages which do not mark all NPs or which mark NPs optionally might be considered 'weak' focus marking languages.

Sinama tends towards the 'weak' end of the focus marking scale. Arguments in the clause core, with the exception of ergative NPs, usually receive no morphological marking. For this reason, I will examine the verbal flexibility noted above from a viewpoint other than that of a focus system.

⁶ R. Barlaan, personal communication.

4.1. The affix *-an* and transitive verbs

The affixation of *-an*⁷ to basic transitive verbs marks the action of a verb as being directed toward a particular target. The target either receives a transferred item, or is in a directional relationship to the action of the verb. For this discussion, the target is labeled 'goal'. A clause having a basic transitive verb that has been affixed with *-an* is labeled a 'directed transitive' clause. Examples are given in (19)–(21).

	VERB	ERG	?	?	
(19)	Hinang-an make-DIR	-ku -1s.ERG	kow 2s.ABS	bangbáng. cookies	'I will make you the/some cookies.'
(20)	Bowa-an bring-DIR	-ku -1s.ERG	anakanak child	intallo. eggs	'I will bring the child the/some eggs.'
(21)	Adjal-an cook-DIR	-na -3s.ERG	aku 1s.ABS	dayng. fish	'He will cook me the/some fish.'

In addition to the verb, the directed transitive clauses in (19)–(21) each have an A component (a participant who is performing the action), followed by a goal (a participant who receives the transferred item). The last component in the clause is the counterpart of O in basic transitive clauses. Basic transitive counterparts for the above sentences are given in (22)–(24) below for comparison.

	VERB	ERG	PIVOT	
(22)	Hinang make	-ku 1s.ERG	bangbáng. cookies	'I will make the cookies.'
(23)	Bowa bring	-ku -1s.ERG	intallo. eggs	'I will bring the eggs.'
(24)	Adjal cook	-na -3s.ERG	dayng. fish	'He will cook the fish.'

With affixation of *-an* to the verb, the number of potential components in a transitive clause increases from three to four. The component which immediately follows A in a basic transitive clause moves to the right to make room for the new component, the goal, and the transitive clause now has four grammatical slots, as seen in (19)–(21). The question is, which of the final two clause slots is the pivot? Also, what kind of slot is the added slot? There are two logical possibilities regarding the unlabeled slots: 1) there is a double occurrence of one of the three original clause slots, and 2) there is a new, as yet unidentified, clause slot. We will demonstrate the latter to be the case.

Sinama marks all ergative NPs using either an ergative pronoun or the preposed particle *heh*.⁸ Clause core NPs that are not ergative arguments are usually unmarked

⁷ The data in this paper have been regularized. The affix *-an* has a phonologically conditioned variant: *-an* → *-han/V__*.

⁸ There are many dialectal variants of *heh* (e.g. *leh*, *eh*).

morphologically. If an ergative language has a case that is morphologically unmarked, it will always be the absolutive case (Dixon, 1979:62). The clauses in (19)–(21) each have one NP marked as ergative, and two other unmarked NPs. Notice that when one of the non-ergative slots is filled by a pronoun, the pronoun is absolutive, but when non-ergative slots are not filled by pronouns, as in the case of 'child' in (20) and all the fillers of the last slot in the frame, the NP is morphologically unmarked. Following Dixon, we must conclude then that all the fillers of both non-ergative slots in (19)–(21) are absolutive NPs. Since the morphology of Sinama NPs does not distinguish between these two non-ergative NPs, we must turn to other means of identifying the function of these NPs.

For reasons which will be pointed out shortly, I propose that the goal, which is introduced into the clause with the affixation of *-an* to the verb, fills the pivot slot in directed transitive clauses. If the goal is the pivot, the next question is, what kind of slot is the final argument filling? The final slot is obviously not a verb slot or an ergative slot. Nor is it a pivot slot since, by definition, the pivot can only occur once in a clause. This brings us to the conclusion that the final argument is filling a new slot.

4.1.1. Semantic change within the directed transitive clause

In determining what kind of slots are filled by unmarked NP components, it will help to note that a semantic change occurs when *-an* is added to a basic transitive verb. This is illustrated in (25), where V, A and O are each given the subscript number 1 to indicate that they are components of the original basic transitive clause.

- (25) V₁ A₁ O₁
 Adj₁ -na dayng.
 cook -3s.ERG fish
 'He will cook the fish.'

Sentence (26) is formed by adding *-an* to the verb of the basic transitive clause in (25). We can now trace the change which takes place by labeling the new V, A and O components with the subscript number 2, while the original components keep their subscript number 1 labels.

- (26) V₂ A₂ O₂
 V₁ A₁ O₁
 Adj₁-an -na aku dayng.
 cook-DIR -3s.ERG 1s.ABS fish
 'He will cook me some fish.'

The *-an* affixed verb in (26) appears with the label V₂, but the unaffixed verb is still present, along with its original V₁ label. The A component is unchanged and retains its A₁ label. It also receives an A₂ label to indicate its A function within the newly-formed directed transitive clause. The goal component which is introduced into the clause when the verb is affixed is given the label O₂.

In order to understand (26), we need to note that the semantic relationships between the components of the original basic transitive clause are unchanged within the newly-formed directed transitive clause. That is, *dayng* 'fish' (O₁) maintains the same semantic relationship to the verb (V₁) as it has in the basic transitive clause, i.e. the fish is still the participant which undergoes the process of being cooked. The A component still carries

the same role as previously, i.e. it is still the participant cooking the fish. In other words, the original three-component clause is still intact within the new four-component clause.

On the other hand, the semantics of the affixed verb (V₂) carries the added notion of directed action. For transitive verbs, this usually means a transfer of some sort. The affixation of *-an* to the verb requires the presence of a goal to which the transferred item is being directed. That is why the goal is labeled as O₂.

Note that if we look only at the components labeled with a subscript 2, they have a clause structure identical to that of the basic clause in (25). This structural similarity between the basic transitive clause and the directed transitive clause indicates that the goal is the pivot of the directed transitive clause. This is further corroborated by the fact that the pronoun that fills the pivot slot is absolutive. This means that the directional nature of the verb's action has now become the dominant idea of the predication. Therefore, even though the NP in the pivot slot is semantically a goal, it has been made the O component of the clause. This is further verified by the fact that *dayng* 'fish' (O₁) may be omitted from the directed transitive clause (27), but the goal (O₂) may not (28).

(27) *Adjal-an-na aku.*

'He will cook me [something].'

(28) *Adjal-an-na dayng.*

'He will cook the fish [something]; i.e., he will cook [something for] the fish.'

*'He will cook [someone] fish.'

Both clause structure and the obligatory presence of the goal make it clear that the goal fills the pivot slot in the clause. This fact, in turn, tells us something about the still unlabeled final slot of the directed transitive clause. Since the pivot slot in the clause is filled by the goal, the final clause slot (which the O₁ component fills) can only be a non-pivot slot, and therefore a slot of grammatically lower prominence than the pivot slot.

Even though the O₁ component has been grammatically lowered in prominence in the directed transitive clause, it is still semantically relevant to the predication. Therefore, we will label the slot filled by O₁ the 'verbal complement' (VC) slot. The four clause slots with their appropriate labels are given in (29).

(29)	VERB	ERG	PIVOT	VC
	<i>Adjal-an</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>dayng.</i>
	cook-DIR	-3s.ERG	1s.ABS	fish

'He will cook me some fish.'

4.1.2. Comparison to English

In English, it is the semantics which allows or disallows directionality of action to be expressed within the clause core. The verb takes the same morphological form whether directionality is indicated or not. This point is illustrated by the two English verbs 'tell' (30)–(33) and 'mention' (34)–(37).

- (30) I told her.
 (31) I told a story.
 (32) I told a story to her.
 (33) I told her a story.
 (34) I mentioned her.
 (35) I mentioned the incident.
 (36) I mentioned the incident to her.
 (37) *I mentioned her the incident.

Some English verbs, like 'tell', allow an indirect object to occur in the clause core without any prepositional marking. When the verb 'tell' occurs with a single non-actor NP which is animate (30), that NP is interpreted as an indirect object. When both the indirect object and the direct object are present in the clause, the indirect object may be marked with a preposition (32), or it may occur without a preposition (33).

Other verbs, like 'mention', require the indirect object to be marked by a preposition to show a directional relationship (36). When the verb 'mention' occurs with a single non-actor NP which is animate, that NP cannot be interpreted as an indirect object (34). The single non-actor NP can only be interpreted as a direct object (34)(35). A sentence, such as (37), which has an indirect object unmarked by a preposition is not allowed.

Sinama has grammaticized this process of indicating directionality of action within a clause core. In Sinama, an unaffixed transitive verb may only be interpreted as having a direct effect on its O component (like the English verb 'mention') (38). This basic verb only allows a goal to be indicated by means of a prepositional phrase in the clause periphery. In this case, the goal is completely optional (39).

- (38) Adjal -na dayng.
 cook -3s.ERG fish
 'He will cook the fish.'
 (39) Adjal -na dayng ma aku.
 cook -3s.ERG fish for 1s.OBL
 'He will cook the fish for me.'

For a clause core to incorporate the idea of directionality into the action of its verb, the verb must be affixed with *-an*. Once affixation takes place, the verb may no longer be interpreted as having a direct effect on the O component, (unlike 'tell' which can be interpreted as having either a direct or an indirect effect depending on the context, and the animateness of the O component). When the verb is affixed with *-an* and there is only one non-ergative NP, the NP must be interpreted as a goal, as illustrated in (40).

- (40) Adjal-an -na dayng.
 cook-DIR -3s.ERG fish
 'He will cook the fish [something]; i.e., he will cook [something for] the fish.'
 **He will cook [someone] the fish.'

4.2. The affix *-an* and intransitive verbs

With the affixation of *-an* to the verb of a basic intransitive clause, the action of the verb is marked grammatically as being directed in relation to a goal. This means that a new component functioning as goal enters the clause. A basic intransitive clause whose verb has been affixed with *-an* is labeled a 'directed intransitive' clause. It is important to note that with the addition of a new component to the clause core, the resulting clause is no longer intransitive at all, as the label might cause one to think. The label is merely meant to indicate that the clause is derived from a basic intransitive verb. The label also serves to differentiate between this type of clause and a basic transitive clause, a contrast which we will explore further in section 5. Sentences (41) and (42) both have an A component (a participant who is performing the action) and an O component (a goal towards which the action is being directed).

- (41) V A O
 Sittowa-an -ku kuting.
 laugh-DIR -1s.ERG cat

'I laugh at the cat.'

- (42) V A O
 Bahak-an -ku tilam.
 lie.down-DIR -1s.ERG mattress

'I lie down on the mattress.'

Compare (41) and (42) with their basic intransitive counterparts in (43) and (44). Recall that basic intransitive clauses have two components which fill the two slots verb and pivot. (The ergative and verbal complement slots remain empty, since there are no components to fill them.)

- | | VERB | ERG | PIVOT | VC |
|------|-------------------|-----|----------------|---------------|
| (43) | Sittowa
laugh | | aku.
1s.ABS | 'I laugh.' |
| (44) | Bahak
lie.down | | aku.
1s.ABS | 'I lie down.' |

Directed intransitive clauses (41) and (42) differ from their basic intransitive counterparts (43) and (44) in number of clause components and grammatical slots. The affixation of *-an* to the verb requires a goal component in the clause, just as it does in a directed transitive clause. As in a directed transitive clause, the goal fills the pivot slot, forcing the former S component (which, as noted in 3.2, is somewhat actor-like) into the ergative slot as an A component, as shown in (45) and (46).

- | | VERB | ERG | PIVOT | VC |
|------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (45) | Sittowa-an
laugh-DIR | -ku
1s.ERG | kuting.
cat | 'I laugh at the cat.' |

- (46) Bahak-an -ku tilam. 'I lie down on the mattress.'
 lie.down-DIR 1s.ERG mattress

In (45) the action of laughing is being performed by A, but is directed at the cat. In (46) the action of lying down is being performed by A, but is directed towards the mattress. So we see that a goal filling the pivot slot has the same general relationship to a directed intransitive verb as to a directed transitive verb. Specifically, the goal does not directly undergo the action of the verb. It is indirectly affected, being the reference point in relation to which the directionality of the action is shown.

In a directed transitive clause, the goal usually receives some transferred item. We traced the semantic change occurring in the directed transitive clause in (25) and (26). There is a related but different change that occurs when a basic intransitive verb takes an *-an* affix. In a basic intransitive clause, there are only two components to begin with: VS. When affixation takes place, an additional component enters the clause. The semantic change which occurs takes the form of a loss of affectedness. This loss is illustrated by (47) and (48). Sentence (47) is a basic intransitive clause. Notice that the non-verbal component of the clause which should be S has been labeled instead as both A and O, since it carries functions similar to both.

- (47) V₁ A₁ / O₁
 Sittowa aku.
 laugh 1s.ABS
 'I laugh.'

In (48), the basic intransitive verb is affixed with *-an*. We can now trace the change which takes place in the clause by labeling the new components with a subscript 2, while the original components keep a subscript 1.

- (48) V₂ A₂ O₂
 V₁ A₁ (O₁)
 Sittowa-an -ku kuting.
 laugh-DIR -1s.ERG cat
 'I laugh at the cat.'

The S component of the basic intransitive clause has a dual function of A and O. When the verb takes the affix *-an*, the O function splits off from the former S component (which is why O₁ is put in parenthesis above) and given to the newly-introduced goal component O₂.

5. Degree of clause transitivity

Hopper and Thompson (1980:266) view transitivity as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy between transitive and intransitive. This means that there are varying degrees of transitivity. They propose a list of components which help determine the degree of transitivity of a clause (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252); that is, the degree to which a transference of action takes place. A clause is ranked either high or low in regard to each of these components. The more high rankings a clause has, the more transitive it is.

The transitivity components which are particularly relevant to our present discussion are listed in (49).

- (49)
1. NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS. Theoretically, no transfer of action can occur unless there are at least two participants involved.
 2. ACTION VS. STATE. An action can be transferred from an agent to a patient, but a state cannot.
 3. AFFECTEDNESS OF O. The degree to which O is affected by the action (i.e., completely affected or only partially affected).
 4. INDIVIDUATION OF O. The distinctness of O, both in relation to A and to its own background. (For example, an animate, definite NP is more highly individuated than an inanimate, indefinite NP; also a reflexive is low in individuation because O is synonymous with A.)

Basic verbs in Sinama occur in two clause types: basic intransitive and basic transitive. When a basic intransitive verb is affixed with *-an*, it produces a directed intransitive clause. Similarly, when a basic transitive verb is affixed with *-an*, it produces a directed transitive clause. So we have four different types of clause, but only three different clause structures, as illustrated in Table 1. (Note that the directed intransitive clause has the same grammatical slots as the basic transitive clause.)

Table 1. Clause types and their slots in Sinama

Clause type	Clause slots			
Basic intransitive	V		PIVOT	
Directed intransitive	V	ERG	PIVOT	
Basic transitive	V	ERG	PIVOT	
Directed transitive	V	ERG	PIVOT	VC

The question arises as to whether the structures in Table 1 represent three or four distinct clause types. By comparing the level of transitivity of each of these four types of clause, we can establish that the structures represent four distinct clause types. The four clause types will then be compared by pairs to determine their relative degrees of transitivity. By pairing the clauses, they can be more easily ranked in relation to each other. For example, a basic transitive clause would rank high in number of participants because it has two or more participants. On the other hand, if we compare a basic transitive clause to a directed transitive clause, the basic transitive clause would rank lower because it has fewer participants than the directed transitive clause. In Tables 2-4, the numbers represent transitivity components and correspond to the numbers given to the components in (49); e.g., number 1 stands for the component 'number of participants'. A high ranking is represented by + and a low ranking by -.

Table 2 shows the comparative transitivity rankings of basic intransitive and directed intransitive clauses. As the results indicate, a directed intransitive clause is higher in transitivity than a basic intransitive clause because the directed intransitive clause has three boxes marked + while the basic intransitive clause has only two.

Table 2. Ranking of transitivity in basic intransitive and directed intransitive clauses in Sinama

Clause type	Component ranking			
	1	2	3	4
Basic intransitive	-	-	+	+
Directed intransitive	+	+	-	+

A basic intransitive clause has only one participant, so it ranks low for component 1, number of participants. It also ranks low for component 2, action vs. stative, since there is no distinction in Sinama between intransitive active verbs and intransitive stative verbs in their structure, as (50) and (51) illustrate.

- (50) V S
 Sittowa aku.
 laugh 1s.ABS
 'I laugh.'

- (51) V S
 Sakki aku.
 sick 1s.ABS
 'I am sick.'

On the other hand, the single participant of a basic intransitive clause is directly affected by the action of the verb and so ranks high for component 3, affectedness. The single participant must also be definite and so ranks high for component 4, individuation, as well.⁹

A directed intransitive clause has two participants. In comparison to a basic intransitive clause, it ranks high for component 1, number of participants. It also ranks high for component 2, action vs. state, as do all clause types other than the basic intransitive clause. The O component of a directed intransitive clause is a goal and is only indirectly affected by the action of the verb, so it ranks low for component 3, affectedness. On the other hand, O is definite and often animate, so it ranks high for component 4, individuation.

Table 3 gives the transitivity rankings of directed intransitive clauses and basic transitive clauses. For this pair, the rankings show that a basic transitive clause is higher in transitivity than a directed intransitive clause.

⁹ For basic intransitive clauses, the ranking of components 3 and 4 as + or - depends on the assumption that the single argument should be treated as O. If this assumption is rejected, this ranking would not hold. Furthermore, basic intransitive clauses having a verb such as 'laugh' could be considered reflexive and would therefore be ranked - for component 4.

Table 3. Ranking of transitivity in directed intransitive and basic transitive clauses in Sinama

Clause type	Component ranking			
	1	2	3	4
Directed intransitive	+	+	-	+
Basic transitive	+	+	+	+

A directed intransitive clause and a basic transitive clause both have two participants, and so both rank high for component 1, number of participants. Both are active, and so rank high for component 2, action vs. state. The presence of the *-an* affix requires a directed intransitive clause to have a semantic goal as its O component. Since a goal is less directly affected by the action of the verb than the semantic patient that is the O component of a basic transitive clause, O of a directed intransitive clause ranks lower than O of a basic transitive clause for component 3, affectedness. Both clauses have a definite O component and so both rank high for component 4, individuation.¹⁰

Table 4 shows the transitivity rankings of basic transitive and directed transitive clauses. For these clauses, the directed transitive clause is higher in transitivity than the basic transitive clause.

Table 4. Ranking of transitivity in basic intransitive and directed transitive clauses in Sinama

Clause type	Component ranking			
	1	2	3	4
Basic transitive	-	+	+	-
Directed intransitive	+	+	-	+

The directed transitive clause has three participants, compared to the two participants of the basic transitive clause; therefore, the directed transitive clause ranks high for component 1, number of participants, and the basic transitive clause ranks low. Both clauses are active and so rank high for component 2, action vs. state. The O component of the directed transitive clause is not directly affected by the action and so ranks low for component 3, affectedness; however, the basic transitive clause ranks high for component 3 since its O component is directly affected. While both types of clause have a definite O component, O of the directed transitive clause tends to be more animate than that of a basic transitive clause, and so ranks higher for component 4, individuation.

On the basis of these comparisons, we can place the clause types on a cline according to their degree of relative transitivity. In Table 5, the least transitive clauses are placed at the top of the cline and the most transitive clauses at the bottom.

¹⁰ Note, too, that these clauses are distinguished as separate types by the fact that: 1) the directed intransitive clause requires a verb suffixed with *-an*, while the basic transitive clause does not, and 2) directed intransitive and basic transitive verbs belong to two different verb classes, intransitive and transitive.

Table 5. Transitivity cline

Basic intransitive
Directed intransitive
Basic transitive
Directed transitive

With respect to relative transitivity, we would be justified in labeling the clauses as four distinct types: two basic clause types and two directed clause types. Being even more general in our description, we could say that we have two basic clauses from which other clause types can be derived through affixation of their verbs.

6. Conclusion

Sinama has a broad class of basic verbs which can function as verbs without affixation. This class can be divided into two subclasses on the basis of transitivity. The two verb subclasses produce two clause types: basic intransitive verbs produce basic intransitive clauses and basic transitive verbs produce basic transitive clauses. Other clause types, such as directed intransitive clauses and directed transitive clauses, can be obtained only by affixing these basic verbs.

The Sinama clause core has been described in terms of a frame having four grammatical slots: verb, ergative, pivot, and verbal complement. The pivot slot is the most grammatically prominent of the non-verbal slots. This frame of clause slots, within an ergative analysis, may provide an alternative to the focus system analysis for understanding the grammar of Sinama clauses.

Abbreviations

A	transitive subject	NOM	nominative
ABS	absolutive	O	object
ACC	accusative	OBL	oblique
AFF	affix	S	intransitive subject
DIR	directional	V	verb
ERG	ergative	VC	verbal complement

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Announcement

We are happy to announce the appointment of Dr. Sherri Brainard as series editor of *Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures*. Dr. Brainard has been working in the Philippines since 1981, doing research first in the Upper Tanudan Kalinga language and now in the Karao language.

Dr. Brainard received her Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Oregon in 1994. She has also taught linguistic courses in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics International and the University of Oklahoma and the University of Oregon.

She has done much to help other linguists in the study of Philippine languages. This includes conducting workshops and editing papers from those workshops, as well as editing a published volume of collected papers on Philippine languages. She has also co-authored papers and a monograph.

She has published several articles and two monographs on Philippine languages. In addition she has presented papers at 2 international linguistic conferences.



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